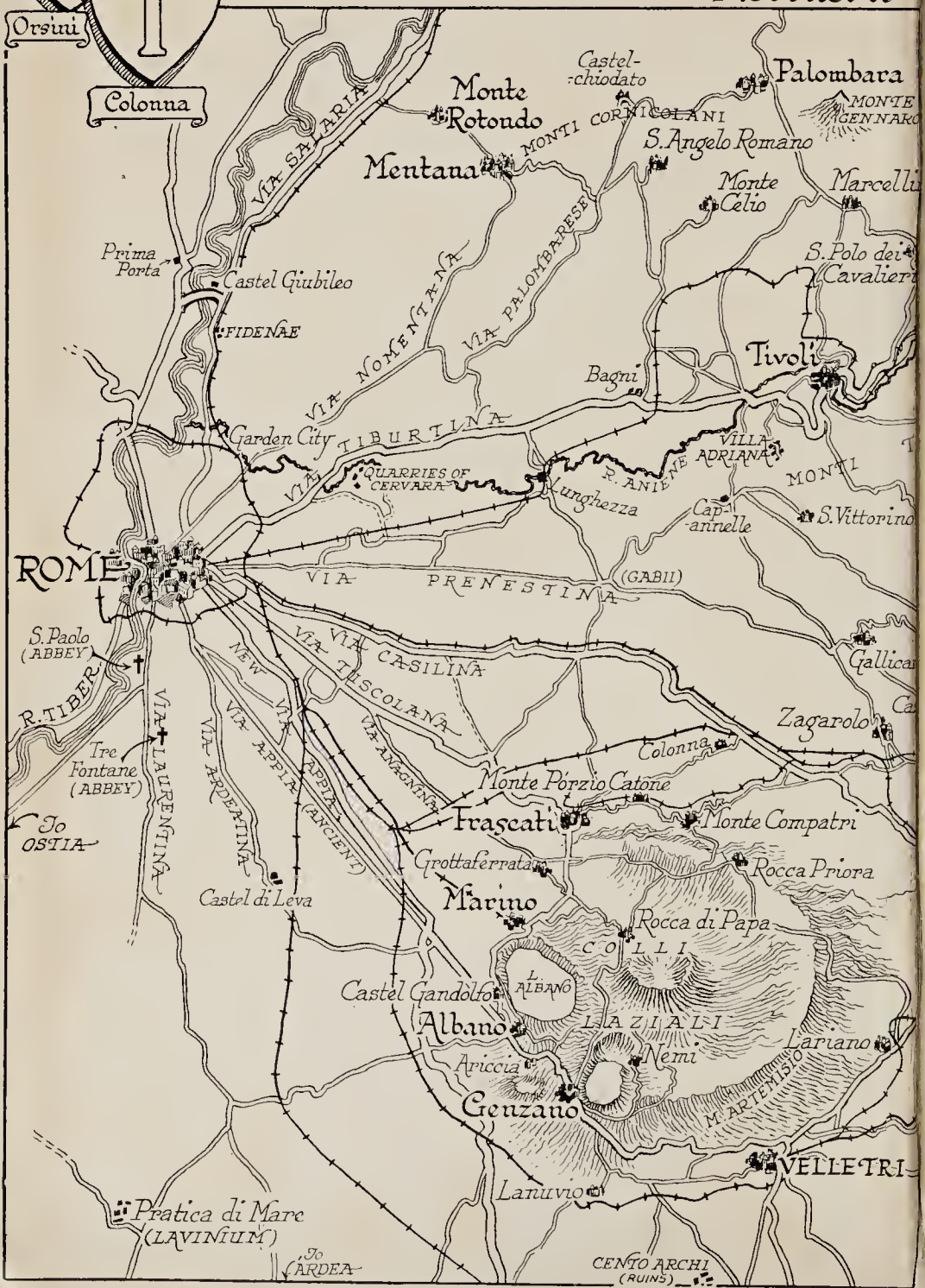
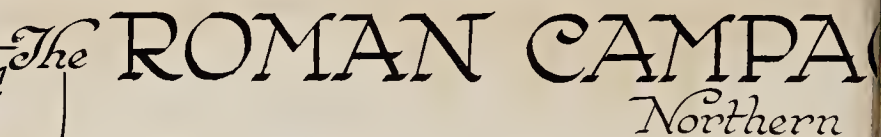


THE
ROMAN CAMPAGNA
AND ITS TREASURES

GILBERT BAGNANI





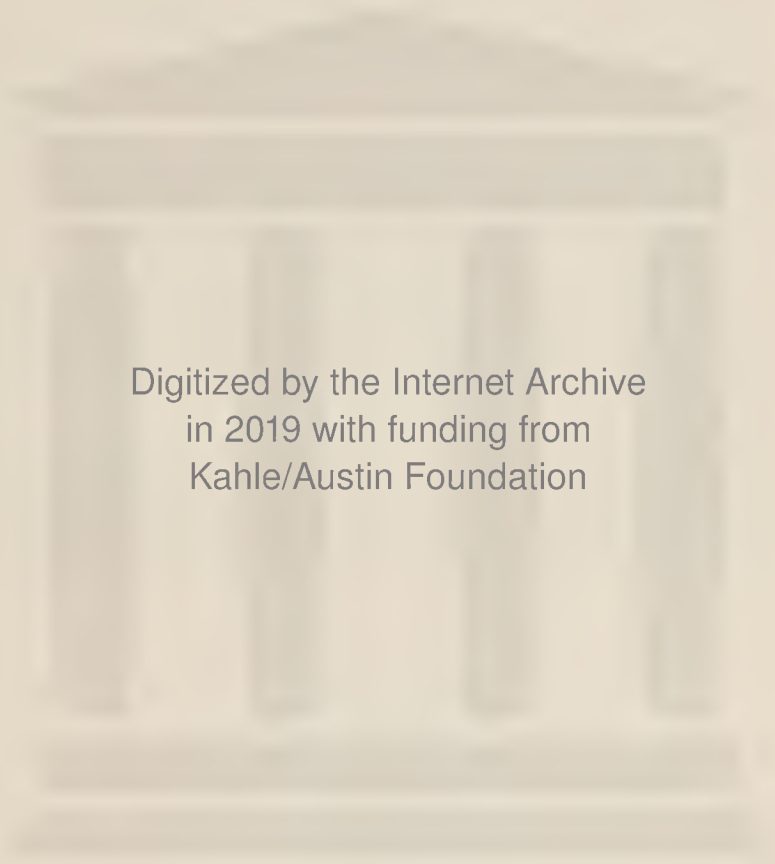
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**THE ROMAN CAMPAGNA
AND ITS TREASURES**





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TIVOLI : THE DEPOSITION (*p.* 236)

THE ROMAN CAMPAGNA AND ITS TREASURES

BY
GILBERT BAGNANI

WITH 36 ILLUSTRATIONS
AND 3 MAPS



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PREFACE

AMONG the infinite delights of Rome the ease and rapidity with which it is possible to leave it is not the least. Nearly all other great cities suffer from a kind of skin disease: the town is separated from the country by a wide, pimply band of objectionable suburbs. In Rome, however, a short drive is sufficient to carry one from the turmoil of the modern city into the silent, undulating plain, surrounded by its hills and mountains, and here and there relieved by ruin, castle, or pine.

The charm of the Campagna must be felt, for it cannot be described; it produces an intoxication of the spirit as potent as that of its own wine. The greatest and most human pleasures are those that we can share with our friends, and we can share the joy of the Campagna not only with our contemporaries but also with our ancestors. We may go and hear Horace recite his latest poem to Augustus, or take part in the discussions at Cicero's villa at Tusculum. As I write these lines, hills and plain are all covered with snow, and I think of that winter twenty centuries ago when, like to-day, '*nec jam sustineant onus silvae laborantes geluque flumina constiterint acuto*'. To the quiet memories of the Augustan age succeeds the destroying yet renovating force of Christianity: we can watch the Goths cut the aqueducts, we can fly from Rome with St. Benedict, we can assist at the passage of those great Imperial and Papal armies that moulded the history of Europe. And so, after a complete cycle of history, we return to peace and quiet, when the splendours of the Augustan age were equalled by those of Popes and Cardinals.

This book cannot pretend to be a treatise on the history or topography of the Campagna; it simply aims at answering the question, 'What shall we do this afternoon?'—a question that, in these days of motor-cars, should never be put. The recent spread of cultivation in the Campagna—a beneficent measure which, however, is the despair of the archaeologist—has led to the construction of a great number of new roads, so that almost every part of the country can be reached with ease and rapidity, and the

Istituto Geografico de Agostini has published an excellent and up-to-date map of the 'Dintorni di Roma' to a sufficiently large scale. In recent years, moreover, the tram, railway, and motor-bus services have been greatly improved and extended, so that now there is really no excuse for anyone to remain in Rome on a fine day.

The Roman Campagna is usually considered to extend to the north of Rome as far as the slopes of the Ciminian range. I have, however, used the term in its sense of the classic *Ager Romanus*, the plains and hills of Latium to the south of the Tiber, which were the cradle of the Roman power. The right bank of the river was considered, even in the Augustan period, the 'Etruscan shore', and all the district on that side belongs to Southern Etruria rather than to Rome. Even the scenery is different, and its savage wildness is reflected in its classical and mediaeval history. On the other hand, I have included certain portions of the Sabine, Hernican, and Volscian territories, which, though strictly speaking outside the limits of the Campagna, have always been intimately connected with the history of Rome.

Although I can claim to have visited practically every place I have mentioned, I am only too conscious that I shall be found guilty of a large number of sins of commission and omission. Omniscience is unfortunately impossible, and I can only hope that this book may induce others to explore the Campagna for themselves. Those who desire more detailed information will find it in the works quoted in the notes at the end of the volume, which are also an acknowledgment of my infinite debt to others. Yet the gratitude which I owe to Dr. Thomas Ashby and to Professor G. Lugli calls for special mention, for not only have I made use of their works, but I have also enjoyed their companionship in the Campagna. To Professor Lugli I am indebted for the use of a number of photographs. I feel I should also mention with gratitude the unfailing devotion shown by my small, patient, and incredibly long-suffering *Fiat*.

GILBERT BAGNANI

ROME

February 1929

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**THE ROMAN CAMPAGNA
AND ITS TREASURES**



THE ROMAN CAMPAGNA

CHAPTER I

THE COUNTRY OF VIRGIL: OSTIA, ARDEA, AND THE PLAIN TOWARDS THE COAST

Sed fortuna fuit.

—VIRGIL, *Aeneid*

THE wide stretch of country that lies between the sea, the Tiber, and the Via Appia is still one of the most desolate parts of Italy—a desolation that dates from Imperial times. But then, at least, the sea coast was covered by an almost uninterrupted line of villas the place of which has now been taken by woods and game preserves. Since 1870 much has been done to bring all this vast area under cultivation, and an energetic fight has been carried on against malaria, the great scourge of the region. But although Ostia, once a death-trap, is now comparatively healthy, so much so that, since the war, a rather unattractive suburb has grown up to provide sea-bathing for the proletariat, the fight is by no means over, for many of the peasants contracted malaria during the war and, returning here, have spread it again and undone much of the work of the former generation.

It is difficult to know what causes led to the abandonment of the district in classical times. The evidence as to the existence of virulent malaria in antiquity, though it has been collected and discussed with great care, does not quite convince me. The depopulation under the Empire may be due to a number of different causes, that were certainly active in other places as well; in particular the attraction of the capital and the formation of great estates,

the *latifundia*. Its decadence in mediaeval times is due to the collapse of sea-borne trade, to the danger from pirates, and to the immunities possessed by the great ecclesiastical estates that succeeded to the Imperial fisc, with rights of asylum which caused them to be infested by the most pestilential type of brigand and criminal. The scourge of malaria is of extremely recent appearance in the Campagna, at least in a virulent form. This can be well observed at Ostia, which, owing to the salt marshes that existed here since prehistoric times, was formerly one of the most deadly spots in the district. Conditions cannot possibly have been very bad in the fifteenth century, when the castle was built, a work which could not have been executed had the workmen been exposed to virulent malaria. It always supported a small population for work at the salt marshes, and its decadence is really due to the opening of the Fiumicino Canal in 1613. It is only during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that malaria sweeps off the population. For example, in 1765 there were 165 persons resident at Ostia, but by the end of the century there were only about a hundred convicts.

But the very desolation and barrenness of the country constitutes one of its chief attractions, now that the Campagna is being cultivated out of all recognition. Ancient monuments are few and of no great importance, but the great spread of uncultivated land, only relieved during the spring by great masses of asphodel, and the melancholy loneliness of the great woods are wonderfully restful after the busy strain of Roman life. Except Ostia, which can be reached by an excellent tram from Porta S. Paolo, and Anzio and Nettuno, which are connected by railway to Albano and Rome, it is a district which can only be explored by motor-car.

OSTIA

*Laevus inaccessis fluviis vitatur arenis
Hospitis Aeneae gloria sola monet.*

—RUTIL. NAM.

Dove l'acqua di Tevere s'insala.

—DANTE, *Purg.* II, 101

The excavations of Ostia are the most interesting near Rome, and should be visited even by the hurried traveller. They are easily accessible either by car or by tram and are in many ways of greater importance than those of Pompeii, for they allow us to reconstruct the poorer residential districts of Rome and to realize the life of the capital.

The Via Ostiensis, which leaves Rome by Porta S. Paolo, is really the continuation of the Via Salaria, the early road by which the inhabitants of the Sabine hills and of the Tiber valley obtained salt from the marshes, which, although stated to have been founded by Ancus Martius, are probably older than Rome itself. Till a short time ago considerable remains of the ancient road could be seen along its course, but the construction of the tramway and the widening of the road, which has been transformed into a motor speedway, has obliterated practically all signs of antiquity or features of interest. From the tram one can sometimes see portions of the ancient bridges preserved below the modern ones on the road which runs to the north, almost parallel to the tramway. I shall not attempt to describe at all fully the ruins of Ostia; Professor Calza, who is in charge of the excavations, has published an excellent guide which has been translated into English and which can be bought at the entrance. I should always advise visitors by car to see the castle first, then cross the whole city on foot and meet the car at Tor Bovacciana, near the bridge to the island. This avoids the necessity of returning on one's steps, and at the same time allows one to see the interesting ruins which are outside the actual limits of the excavations.

The excavations have discredited the tradition that Ostia was founded by Ancus Martius, but have confirmed its existence as the first Roman military colony in about

335 B.C., when the victory over Antium had caused Rome to become a naval power, and the whole enceinte of this early fort has now been discovered. The city very soon extended outside the limits of the early castle and was sacked by Marius, but its walls were built or rebuilt by Sulla to whom is due the present enceinte. Its prosperity under the Empire was very great, especially after the construction of the port at Porto by Claudius and Nero, which was still further enlarged by Trajan, with the consequence that most of the buildings now to be seen are of the time of the Antonines or the Severi. Its decadence begins under Constantine, who separated Ostia from Porto, and is rapid towards the end of the fourth century. Here, in an inn where she was awaiting a ship to take her to Africa, died S. Monica, the mother of S. Augustine, in 388. After the Gothic wars it was almost completely abandoned, but in 849, in the pontificate of Leo IV, a combined Roman, Neapolitan, Amalfitan, and Gaetan fleet utterly defeated a great Saracen host, a victory commemorated by a fresco in the Stanze of Raphael.

The present village was probably begun by the Cardinal d'Estouteville in 1461 round a tower which had been built by Martin V. Giuliano della Rovere, afterwards Julius II, in 1483 completed the church and built the castle with the aid of the famous architect Baccio Pontelli. The castle is a most interesting example of military engineering, designed to resist the attack of artillery, although it has been usually thought that Italy was ignorant of scientific poliorcetics till the invasion of Charles VIII. At that time the Tiber ran in its classical channel by the side of the village, and filled the moat; but after the great flood of 1557 the river shifted to its present bed. The castle now contains a museum of the objects found in the excavations, chiefly remarkable for the magnificent series of portrait busts. Since Ostia was not destroyed at one blow, like Pompeii, but was gradually abandoned, the objects are all of very different dates. The architecture of the castle itself should be examined; the view from the tower, looking over the forest of Castel Fusano and Castel Porziano is fine, and the casemates, with their vent-holes to allow

the dispersion of the smoke from the cannon, are very interesting.

We now enter the excavations and walk along the Via Ostiensis, which runs right through the town, forming its decumanus or main street. The portion outside the city is flanked by a number of tombs and columbaria. We thus reach the gateway in the Sullan enceinte, of which little remains ; immediately inside it was a large square in which is now set up a fine figure of a Victory, or rather of a winged Minerva, which may be a part of the decoration of the gateway. The house on the right was originally built in Republican times as a warehouse, but was subsequently much modified and a portion turned into a bathing establishment. Much larger baths were built a little farther on by Hadrian and the Antonines over the remains of an earlier establishment, a mosaic pavement of which can be seen under the road at the side, the Via dei Vigili. The fine mosaics which decorate these *thermae* can best be seen from the top of the stairs. Behind the baths and approached by the Via dei Vigili is a large block, which originally was a private house but was turned into barracks for the firemen and police under the Severi. The theatre was originally built by Augustus, but in its present state is also a work of the Severi. The seats of the *cavea* have recently been restored and plays are occasionally staged here in the late spring. Behind the stage is a large *quadriporticus* with a temple, perhaps of Ceres, in the centre. The rooms all round have most interesting mosaic pavements and belonged to the different corporations of merchants ; the portico was thus a kind of exchange.

Just beyond the theatre, at some distance from the street, a small modern construction protects the remains of a *mithraeum*, the best preserved of the numerous ones found at Ostia. Beyond it are the extremely complicated remains of four small Republican temples. A little farther on we find a very large warehouse, probably belonging to the State, built by Claudius for the cereals discharged at his port, and still further enlarged by Trajan.

It is better now to cross the decumanus and notice the buildings in course of excavation. We first find a very

large bathing establishment, similar in plan to the great Baths of the Capital, then a number of smaller buildings, one of which was the club-house of the Corporation of the Master Builders. It is exceptionally interesting and is very well preserved, with a central court from which open several rooms, each containing the masonry benches for the banquets which, apparently, were one of the chief objects of this corporation. A dedicatory inscription to Septimius Severus gives the names of 328 members divided into sixteen *decuriae*. Almost opposite this block is a large latrine; it is of late date, for the seats are made of slabs taken from earlier buildings. We now come to the lower part of the Forum, which occupies the centre of the early Republican fortress. It was entirely surrounded by porticoes, and, at the end where we now are, had a temple dedicated to Rome and Augustus. Of this building, which seems to have been built under Claudius, there are only scanty traces, but on one side have been placed fine statues of Roma Victrix and of a Victory, both found in the temple, and on the other side the fragments of the decoration of the back pediment have been pieced together into a modern wall. On the west side of the Forum stood the Basilica, only the foundations of which are preserved, and beyond it is a magnificent building of the late third century, perhaps a pantheon, the architectural details of which are of the greatest importance.

The largest ruin of Ostia is the Capitolium, usually miscalled the Temple of Vulcan, at the other end of the Forum, opposite the Temple of Rome and Augustus. It was dedicated to the Capitoline Triad and takes the place of an earlier one; inside the high podium are three large vaults. The street to the right of the temple leads to the *Casa dei Dipinti* (between the road and the excavators' house), the *Casa di Diana* (so called from the terra-cotta relief in the courtyard), and the Thermopolium, or public house. This is the most interesting street in Ostia, and we must try to imagine its original appearance, with the houses three or four stories high, their capacity still further increased by wooden garrets at the top. They closely resemble modern tenement houses, each one of the

apartments having, as far as possible, its own entrance and stairway, either internal or external. The plan of the Renaissance or mediaeval Italian house, with its numerous floors grouped round a central courtyard, is therefore of classical origin. A curious feature about these houses is that, although drain-pipes from the upper floors have been found, there are no traces of chimneys of any kind. Even had the heating and cooking been done by means of open braziers one would expect to find some rooms blackened by the smoke. Even in the Thermopolium which, as its name states, served hot and cold drinks, there is no trace of a kitchen.

Continuing the decumanus beyond the Forum, we first find on our right an interesting private house which was turned into a kind of bazaar or departmental store. The rooms on the courtyard were shops, while the rooms above were used by the families of the shopkeepers or as stores for the goods. It is called the *Casa del Larario* from the pretty niche in one of the pillars which contained an image of the presiding deity. A little farther on we come to the end of the excavated area, and, taking the road to the right, we reach a fine block which is entered by a magnificent doorway, with brick engaged columns and terra-cotta mouldings and pediment, strangely reminiscent of Italian mediaeval art. The inscription above the door states that it was the warehouse of two Oriental merchants, Epagathus and Epaphroditus. Notice the second doorway and the holes in which were fixed the heavy bolts, the two niches for the lares in the courtyard, the mosaic pavement with the figure of a tiger holding what appears to be a chop, the various store-rooms, the staircases leading to the upper story which was distributed in a similar way. In one of the rooms on the ground floor we see a long stretch of wall in tufa masonry which is part of the wall of the early Republican fort.

If a car has been sent to Tor Bovacciana we can here leave the excavated portion of the city and take a path along the banks of the river, past a number of scattered buildings excavated in former times. First come some private buildings with a store-room containing great dolia

or jars, and then a large excavation called the *Palazzo Imperiale*, which it certainly is not. It consists of several different buildings, the principal one being another bathing establishment. There is also a small mithraeum and a large portico with a number of vaulted rooms, probably a warehouse. The Torre Bovacciana a little farther on is probably the one mentioned by Roger of Hoveden as that at which Richard Lionheart disembarked in August 1190 on his way to the crusade. A cardinal met him and invited him to go to Rome, but Richard refused and, marching along the Via Severiana, the ancient road along the coast which was still in good condition, went to Terracina. It is another proof that at that time malaria cannot have been very serious: even at the present day anyone trying to walk in August from Ostia to Terracina would certainly contract malaria at once. The tower is at the extreme west end of the city; the ruins near it seem to be store-houses and shops of Antonine date.

From the tower the best way to return to Rome is to cross over to the island, go on to Fiumicino, and then come back by Porto, where the beautiful hexagonal lake surrounded by pines is the basin of Trajan's port.

A road from the village of Ostia leads across the tram-line and along one of the great drainage channels (the building like a factory on the left is one of the pumping stations) to Castel Fusano, the shooting estate of Prince Chigi (a permit to visit the estate must be obtained in Rome from the Amministrazione Chigi, and is not easily granted), which, before the war, was leased to the King and was then connected with the royal estate of Castel Porziano. The stream that skirts the wood is now a drainage canal, but was formerly the boundary between the territory of Ostia and that of the Laurentes. It has been identified with the Numicius, but that stream was probably the one near Ardea. The castle of Castel Fusano is a semi-fortified house built in the sixteenth century by the Sacchetti and later enlarged by the Chigi. From the castle an avenue paved with blocks of lava taken from the ancient Via Severiana, that ran all along the coast, leads to the sea. Some portions of the pavement of the Via Severiana have,

however, been recently discovered *in situ*. To the south-east, near the royal estate, is the site of Pliny's villa, of which some traces can still be seen. The numerous attempts at a reconstruction based on his own very elaborate descriptions merely illustrate the great difficulty which attends the interpretation of a verbal account, and it is therefore unfortunate that excavations have never been conducted here on a sufficient scale.

LAVINIUM AND ITS DISTRICT

Rex arva Latinus et urbes

Iam senior longa placidas in pace regebat.

—VIRGIL, *Aeneid*, VII, 45

It cannot be said that the legends about early Rome, Evander, Aeneas, the Latins, the Trojans, the Rutuli, *et hoc genus omne*, are exactly clear or easily explicable. The confusion which is obvious enough in the ancient authors has only been made worse by modern historians. This confusion has spread to the actual topography of the region, and still perplexes when it does not infuriate the pilgrim who religiously follows the footsteps of Aeneas with a Virgil in his pocket. That the Via Ardeatina should not lead to Ardea is bad enough, that the Via Laurentina should lead to Ardea is a good deal worse, but that we should be told that there was no such place as Laurentum, when one, if not two, roads were called Laurentinae, is really the last straw. But Laurentum has undoubtedly been completely demolished and wiped off the map. In the first place, no satisfactory site can be found for it; in the second, the town of Latinus is never actually called Laurentum by Virgil; and there is a formidable phalanx of other arguments in support. The conclusion is that the people known as the Laureses were so inconsiderate as to have as capital the city called Lavinium; that in Imperial days the town was known as Lauro-Lavinium, and that near it there was a large village, the Vicus Augustanus Laurentium. The obvious retort that Latinus could not

have lived in Lavinium, when that town was called after his own daughter, is, I fear, not taken seriously. Indeed, I can see no way out of the difficulty, and with many regrets I now abandon the Laurentum of my schooldays. '*Heu me miserum! Tulerunt a me Laurentum meum et quod nunc teneam non habeo!*'

The road called the Via Laurentina at the present day leads to Ardea, though in ancient times it actually did go to Lavinium. The present road to that place follows another ancient road, variously called the Via Lavinatis, or the Via Laurentina Nova (neither term has any classical sanction), and not the least perplexing problem is the existence of these two separate roads traversing the same district a few miles apart in order to arrive at a decaying village.

The modern road turns off to the left from the Via Ostiensis at the Bivio di Decima, at the seventh kilometre stone, and runs due south through a typical stretch of bare, undulating country; the few clumps of trees are mostly cultivations of cork. We pass on the right the ruined Tor Brunori, and a little farther on the Torre Cenci, and enter an avenue of elms which leads to the Osteria del Malpasso near the Fosso Malafede (beautiful names round which one can weave wonderful romances about brigands and outlaws). Here is the entrance to the great royal shooting estate of Castel Porziano, with beautiful pine woods and game preserves. It is well worth a visit, but permission must first be obtained in Rome from the Ministero della Real Casa, Via Venti Settembre. It used to be known as Porciliano, a name probably derived from an estate of the gens Proclia. The house is built round a very old watch-tower, partly constructed of lava slabs from the pavement of the Via Severiana. A wide road to the right leads due south through the beautiful woods, in which one can occasionally catch glimpses of the deer, to Tor Paterno, an old tower on the coast that was dismantled by the British fleet in 1809. Here most archaeologists have placed Laurentum, but, as we have seen, there was no such place, and certainly this does not appear to be the site of an ancient town. The tower is built on the

remains of a villa which seems to have been Imperial property and belonged perhaps to Commodus. It was originally on the coast, but from here to Ostia the coast-line has greatly advanced since classical times owing to the deposit brought down by the Tiber. Tor Paterno, however, is the last point on the coast to feel the effects of the river, and farther south the ancient and modern coast-lines coincide. From Tor Paterno a road leads north through the woods parallel to the sea ; after crossing a canal we come to the excavations conducted by H.M. the Queen on the site of a large village, the Vicus Augustanus Laurentium. It is interesting as proving that the conditions of the coast in those days were very similar to what they are now, that is to say, a vast game preserve and park. We have record that in this village there was a guild of gamekeepers, and an inscription of an administrator of the various Imperial estates mentions that he also managed the Laurentine park, 'where the elephants are kept' ! In the baths of the village was found the large mosaic with hunting scenes which now decorates the smaller cloister of the Terme Museum, and it is quite possible that many of the animals represented were drawn from the living animals in the preserve. In a small villa—a real sea-side bungalow—was found the well-known replica of the Discobulus of Myron which was also given by H.M. to the Terme Museum.

From the Osteria del Malpasso the road which, for want of a better name, we can call the Laurentina Nova, keeps on outside the Royal preserves and passes below the finely situated Castel di Decima, a large fortified farm-house. All the buildings along the coast had always to be ready to repel a chance incursion of Barbary pirates, even in comparatively modern days ; one of the last was in 1748 at Maccarese, which, however, seems rather to have been a shipwreck than a deliberate razzia. Near the Casale are traces of an ancient bridge embedded in the modern one, and many paving-stones of the ancient road may be seen all along its course. The milestones that have been discovered belong to Tiberius and to Maxentius, proving it to have been the road that supplanted to a certain extent the earlier one. All this group of roads, the two

Laurentinae and the Ardeatina, seem to have been in charge of only one contractor.

The road rises a little, with fine views both of the hills and of the sea. To the left we see Casal Trigoria and Castel Romano on the line of the *Laurentina vetus*, which is now abandoned. The road runs through magnificent woods, first of pines and then of the picturesque but somewhat untidy cork-trees, and we at last reach the tiny village of *Pratica di Mare*, the ancient Lavinium. The present buildings belong to the Borghese and occupy a high site, 270 feet above the sea-level, almost entirely surrounded by ravines. It is thus an ideal place for a city, high enough to be healthy and to dominate by means of watch-towers the whole coast, and well fortified by nature. Inscriptions prove that the village of Lauro-Lavinium existed in late Imperial times, and enough early objects have been discovered to confirm the traditional antiquity of the site.

It is supposed to have been the earliest centre of the Latin people, but, on the death of Aeneas, his son Ascanius transferred the capital to Alba Longa. But the tutelary gods, the Penates, refused to be moved, and their cult here had thus a considerable importance even in late times. We know from Macrobius that in his day the Roman magistrates, on assuming office, used to go to Lavinium to sacrifice to Vesta and the Penates. The site is supposed to have been indicated to Aeneas, though it would seem to have been sufficiently obvious, by a white sow with a litter of thirty white piglets lying under an ilex, and, in order to remove the doubts of the sceptical, a portion of its flesh was pickled and preserved in the local temple.

From Lavinium to Ardea, the home of the unfortunate Turnus and the capital of the Rutuli, the distance is only about six miles, but the roads are bad and should only be attempted in fine weather. In the territory between the two cities stood the famous sanctuary of Venus Frutis, known as Frutinal, one of the most important religious centres of the Latin people. It was in many ways the rival of the Temple of Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban Mount, and was probably only supplanted by it when Alba Longa

became the political centre of the league. The epithet clearly shows that the goddess worshipped here was a divinity of vegetation, and the cult is thus in sharp contrast with that of Jupiter Latiaris, who is certainly a god of the heavens.

ARDEA AND THE COUNTRY OF THE RUTULI

Magnanimis regnata viris nunc Ardea nomen.

—SIL. ITAL. I, 293, plagiarizing VIRGIL

We have already mentioned that the present Via Ardeatina, although it follows for a considerable way the line of the ancient road, does not lead to Ardea, which is now reached by what is called the Via Laurentina, a road which corresponds in part to one of the roads that led to Lavinium. It originally left the city by a small gate in the Aurelian walls, which was destroyed by Sangallo when he built the bastion between the Porta S. Sebastiano and the Porta S. Paolo, ran for several miles at no great distance from the Via Appia, reached the present road to Ardea some miles before Tor Chiesaccia, and left it some miles farther on. It is still possible to follow it across country by means of the cuttings and the ancient remains along its course, which are not, however, of any great importance. The present Via Ardeatina we shall examine a little later.

The so-called Via Laurentina turns off from the Via Ostiensis immediately after the Basilica of S. Paolo with an uncommonly nasty left-hand turn under the railway, and then climbs a steep hill. We promptly descend on the other side into the valley in which stands the Abbey of the Tre Fontane, surrounded by its eucalyptus woods. The story of S. Paul's execution at the Aquae Salviae is as old as the fourth century at least, but the first mention of a church on the site is of the sixth. The abbey was very prosperous during the Middle Ages, but was later abandoned owing to malaria. In 1868 it was given to the Trappists, who proved that by drainage and cultivation it was possible to render such a place habitable. The gateway is

of the eighth century and was once frescoed with a very interesting representation of the donation of 805, and was thus one of the earliest maps of the Campagna. The Church of SS. Vincenzo e Anastasio in its present shape is an early Cistercian foundation of the time of Honorius III, although it presents a much earlier version of the style than one would expect at that time. In the portico are a number of characteristic majolica dishes, inserted as decoration, and in the monastery, unfortunately inaccessible, is the handsome cloister. On the right the Church of S. Maria Scala Coeli derives its name from the story that once S. Bernard, while celebrating Mass here for the soul of a departed friend, saw the celestial stair by which his friend's soul was ascending into Heaven. The old church was rebuilt by Giacomo della Porta in its present form; in the crypt a part of the earlier Cosmatesque pavement is still preserved. The actual Church of the Tre Fontane is also a rather frigid work of the same architect; the earlier church seems to have been a kind of portico with three different levels for the springs which are supposed to have gushed forth at the places where the apostle's head struck the ground. The martyrdom is said to have taken place under a pine-tree, and during some former excavations a number of early coins were found, together with a large quantity of pine-cones.

We cross the eucalyptus-covered hill and at the bottom of the valley on the other side find a road which leads to the Via Ardeatina. The Laurentina continues to wander up and down and left and right with a rather charming inconsequence. It is sad to think that fifty years ago nearly all the roads round Rome resembled it and meandered through as desolate a country; yet what we have lost in picturesqueness we have gained in many other ways. We pass a number of quarries, both of pozzolana and of lava; the lorries which transport the material are usually the only traffic one meets on the road. Some distance farther on we come to Tor Chiesaccia on the left, a lofty tower and near it considerable remains of the shell of a large church. Just beyond the ruins a road on the left leads to the Via Ardeatina and Castel di Leva, crossing an ancient road

the line of which is marked by a large reservoir close to the road. The portion of the road on which we now are corresponds to the ancient Via Laurentina vetus, which, however, left it just about a mile farther on, its course being marked by a track which leads by Casal Trigoria, Castel Romano and Monte di Leva, to Pratica. The modern road now wanders on through an almost completely deserted part of the country, until, after more than ten kilometres, we reach the bridge and hovels called Solforata, from the sulphuretted springs to the left of the road. This is the spring of Albunea, near the grove and oracle of Faunus, which Latinus, most conscientious of fathers, consulted about the portents that heralded the arrival of Aeneas. That this and not Tivoli is the site of Virgil's Albunea is sufficiently proved by its closeness to Lavinium and the verses '*Nemorum quae maxima sacro Fonte sonat saevamque exhalat opaca mephitim*' (Aen. VII, 83-4), for there are no sulphur springs in Tivoli itself. It seems in Imperial times to have been the site of a villa of the Calvisian family, to which belonged that C. Calvisius Sabinus of whom Seneca says '*Numquam vidi hominem beatum indecentius*' (Ep. ad Luc. 27). It was an important village in the early Middle Ages, and there are still some remains of its tower.

After about a kilometre the road is crossed by another which comes from Pratica and goes up to Albano, passing by Pavona. The road from Pratica is probably ancient and is the one Latinus would have used to come to the oracle of Faunus. We are now on the line of the ancient Ardeatina, and we begin to find the plantations of cork-trees. At a considerable distance to the left we see the very lofty Tor Maggiore, nearly a hundred feet high and one of the finest in the Campagna. We soon cross another stream by the half-ruined Casale Santa Procula, formerly a church of San Proculo, which, in its decline, has lost both dignity and sex. The stream is the beginning of the Rio Torto, a sluggish, winding rivulet that separates the territory of Lavinium from that of Ardea. This, rather than either the Fosso dello Stagno before Castel Fusano or the Fosso dell' Incastro by Ardea (Ashby, *Roman Campagna*, 217), is the River Numicius, famous in legendary history,

in which the poets manage to drown those *dramatis personae* who have lived too long. Anna, the sister of Dido, by a combination of circumstances stranger than any modern detective story, is made to come to the Laurentine territory, where she meets Aeneas, who takes her home and introduces her to his wife. Lavinia is naturally rather sceptical about her husband's story and decides to remove the too fair new-comer. Anna is warned by a dream and runs away during the night, but falls promptly into the Numicius. Aeneas consoles himself by declaring that she has been turned into a spring, and a spring and grove of Anna Perenna certainly existed on the banks of the stream. By an act of retributive justice Aeneas himself was drowned in the stream during a battle with the Rutuli; but the Latins tactfully said that he had disappeared, and worshipped his memory under the name of Jupiter Indiges.

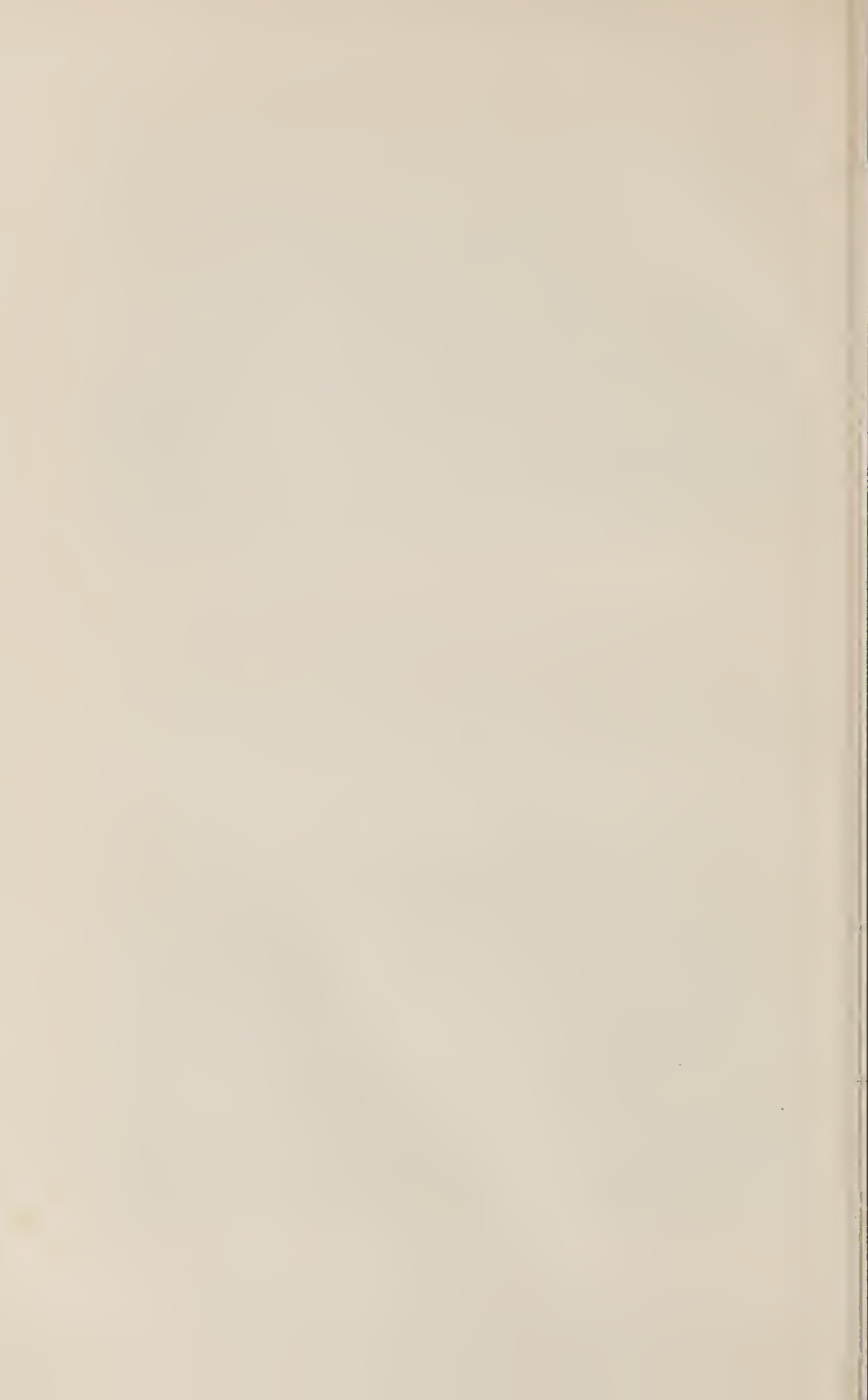
In the next valley we come to the Fosso della Muratella, which passes by Ardea and is later called the Incastro. As we approach the city we find considerable traces of the ancient road pavement, but a great deal of it has been destroyed in recent years. We then turn a little to the left and at last come to the magnificently situated acropolis of Ardea. The city is said to have been founded by Perseus near the spot where the chest in which Danae and her infant son had been washed ashore. In legendary history it is the capital of the Rutuli who, though constantly at war with the Latins of Lavinium, do not seem to have ever been definitely conquered. Tarquinius Superbus besieged it, and while he was away at the siege he was expelled by the revolution in Rome. There is no record of its ever having been conquered by the Romans, and it is the only one of the cities in this district that remained prosperous and important even after the Roman supremacy in Latium. That, notwithstanding Virgil, it was successful in its struggles against Lavinium is proved by the fact that it had charge of the federal sanctuary of Venus Frutis. Camillus was in exile here during the Gallic invasion and received the news of his appointment to the dictatorship. Although in Imperial times the



ARDEA



TORRE ASTURA (p. 23)



district surrounding it was considered to be unhealthy, it seems to have enjoyed a considerable amount of prosperity during the early Middle Ages. It belonged to the Abbey of S. Paolo and was the birthplace of that Abbot John who built the beautiful cloister. At the beginning of the fifteenth century it passed to a branch of the Colonna family called di Riofreddo, and in 1436 was the scene of a horrible family tragedy, when Giovanni Andrea Colonna di Riofreddo treacherously murdered his brother-in-law Ludovico Colonna, a famous captain of the day. The deed is still mysterious, for the motives are obscure, and it is not even known what actually happened. It now belongs to the Cesarini, who bought it in 1564. In the following centuries malaria carried off most of the population, and even now it is inhabited by only a few families.

The position of the acropolis, on which the modern village is built, is magnificent, and gives a splendid idea of the appearance of one of these early cities. Both the gate and this portion of the walls are mediaeval. The great Cesarini Palace contains nothing of interest, but to the left inside the gateway are a number of beehive granaries cut in the rock. On this side considerable remains of Bronze Age burials have been found. In the little square to the side of the church are the important ruins of a large temple built in reticulated work on a platform of *opus quadratum*; it is perhaps the Temple of Juno in which Pliny saw some very ancient paintings. The north-east side of the acropolis was connected to the plateau beyond by a small ridge, and here we find a magnificent wall of tufa blocks with mediaeval buttresses. The plateau beyond was the site of the city, and the foundations of a large temple have recently been found. The city was further protected by two mounds and ditches, and the lines of several roads can still be traced. But the most interesting monument of Ardea is the little Church of S. Marina at the cemetery in the deep valley to the south-east of the village. S. Marina was a saintly virgin who, dressed as a monk, spent her life in a Benedictine monastery without revealing herself! Over the door is a curious relief in which she is shown in her monastic habit together with two other figures. The

door was built by a certain Cencius, chancellor of Rome, not the famous Cencius Camerarius who afterwards became Honorius III, but some official of the end of the fourteenth century. The interior contains nothing of interest, but behind the altar a door in the face of the cliff gives admittance to another chapel with three apses which is a Roman rock-cut tomb retaining part of the original stucco decoration of the ceiling.

ON THE VIA ARDEATINA

The road now called the Via Ardeatina diverges from the Via Appia at the Domine Quo Vadis, and probably the ancient road did the same. It then crosses the Via delle Sette Chiese at Tor Marancia, a name that is probably derived from *Amaranthus*, the name of some freedman. The tower, which is well preserved, is probably of the time of the Conti (thirteenth century), and the estate, in which are also the catacombs of Domitilla, has yielded a vast number of antiquities, now mostly in the Vatican. We pass behind the Church of S. Sebastiano, and a little farther on a road to the right leads to the little Church of the Annunziatella, near an ancient villa and the *silva Naevia* of antiquity. This little church was once of the greatest importance, for it was one of the nine (later reduced to seven) churches which had to be visited by pilgrims, and the road leading to it was called 'oratoria', since the processions were bound to sing psalms along it.

To the left of the road is the much-ruined tower of Tor Carbone, a name that is probably derived from that of a Papirius Carbo, owner of the estate, where there are a few classical ruins, that is to say, the usual reservoirs. We now come to the *Stazione agraria* for agricultural study; it was formerly a property of the monastery of S. Alessio on the Aventine and is now an important road-centre. A first road to the right leads back to the Ostiensis at S. Paolo, then one on the left to the Via Appia, and then, almost opposite, another to the Laurentina after the Tre Fontane.

A little farther on, at the present sixth kilometre, both the ancient and the modern road fork. The ancient Ardeatina is the branch on the right which leads to the large castle known as the Cecchignola, with a lofty tower and a well-preserved enceinte which was restored under Leo XII, who often used it as a shooting-lodge. All these estates once belonged to the Templars. The Ardeatina can still be traced across the fields till it reaches the central stretch of the so-called Laurentina.

The other branch, the present high-road, corresponds to an ancient road, the name of which is unknown, which leads to Satricum, an important cult centre in early times (see p. 23). A short distance farther on, at a bend, we see on the left the estate of S. Cesario, once a property of the monastery of Grottaferrata. Near the modern farmhouse considerable ruins exist of a great round hall of the third or fourth century A.D., with a fine frontage comprising a door flanked by two niches. A road on the left leads to the Appia at Casal Rotondo, and soon after passing it we see on the left, at some distance from the road, considerable ruins of an ancient villa. Another road on the left is the one to Fiorano which passes by Tellene (see p. 43), and after about another mile we come to Castel di Leva, the Sanctuary of the Divino Amore, one of the most popular in the whole Campagna.

Neither the history nor the antiquities of Castel di Leva itself are of any importance, and its identification with Tellene is a pure hypothesis. Its interest is in its church, which is comparatively modern, and in the festival which takes place on the first Sunday in May. The church was built in 1744 for a frescoed image of the *Madonna del Divino Amore*, to whose intercession a hermit ascribed his safety from some shepherds' dogs in 1720. No one can now imagine the real danger represented by these very savage dogs. Cultivation has now diminished the pasturage and obliged the shepherds to look after their dogs much better, but even before the war it was unwise to wander unarmed about the Campagna for fear of some savage attack. Since that time the image has become practically the protectress of the Campagna. At the Sanctuary one can buy little

histories of the miracles which she is said to have performed, and which are sufficiently attested by the great number of ex-votos of all kinds, among which the various pictures representing the miracles are very interesting and naïve. During the night between the first Saturday and Sunday in May all the peasants of this part of the Campagna collect here, and they are joined by an immense number of Romans 'out on the spree' in gaily decorated carts and motor-cars, many of which after early Mass go on to Albano. It is a very curious and unforgettable sight, especially for the mixture of very deep devotion and sincere religious feeling with the memories and behaviour of ancient pagan spring festivals and of the Roman Saturnalia.

At Castel di Leva a road on the right leads to the Laurentina at Tor Chiesaccia (see p. 14), while the ancient road to Satricum goes straight on and runs for a considerable distance parallel to the new express line to Naples. It passes below the ruins of the tower of Falcognana, once the great estate of the Cenci, and then the farm-houses of Casal Bruciato, on the other side of the railway. All this district in the Middle Ages seems to have been very well wooded. At the twentieth kilometre the road comes to an end and the track is crossed by the road that goes from Pratica on the right to Albano on the left.

ANZIO AND NETTUNO

O diva, gratum quae regis Antium.

—HOR., Carm., I, xxxv, I

Anzio and Nettuno are the favourite sea-side resorts of Rome, and their popularity has not been affected either by Ostia, which will always remain somewhat proletarian, or by Fregene, which is so exclusive that there is seldom anyone there. As the playground of the Roman upper middle class the coast between Anzio and Nettuno has been covered by villas, restaurants, and bathing establishments, and the charms or demerits of such a holiday must be determined

by the individual. No pier panders to the simple entertainments of the multitude, I know of nothing more frisky than a merry-go-round that looks as if it might have been new when Nero built his villa, but then it is possible to be either in or on the water for ten hours a day. The aesthete may be delighted by the colour and profile of a boatman or be grieved by the sight of a red flannel petticoat.

These towns can both be reached either by train or by road, and both routes are rather dull. The road is bad—in certain portions very bad—but then the trains are also bad and incredibly slow. Since the opening of the Rome-Naples railway it is possible to reach Anzio rather more quickly than by the old line by Cecchina.

The Via Anziate, perhaps an ancient road, leaves the Appia just beyond Frattocchie (p. 49), and for the first part of its course runs along the foot of the Alban hills, skirting the ruins of Bovillae and the hill of Monte Savello (pp. 49, 69). Just before reaching the station of Cecchina a road on the left leads to Genzano along the rim of the crater of Vallariccia, whence one enjoys one of the finest views of this portion of the Castelli. We then cross the railway line and skirt the foot of Monte Giove on the left, identified on insufficient evidence with Corioli. On reaching a fork we keep to the right; the road on the left leads to Carano and Conca. The road now runs due south, almost in a straight line and absolutely flat; the attempts made to identify the various Volscian cities which occupied this district have been unsuccessful.

Antium was the most important of these Volscian cities, from its position, which enabled it to supplement its legitimate trade with the fruits of organized piracy. The ancient city occupied the hills to the north of the shore, and does not appear to have had a proper port in early times, though the beach is to a certain extent naturally protected. Here Coriolanus is said to have been put to death by the rather naturally incensed Volscians, and during the whole of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., it was constantly at war with Rome. It was finally defeated in 338 B.C. and was treated with great severity: a Roman colony was established as a garrison, its maritime commerce

was prohibited, and the prows of its warships were used to decorate the tribune in the Comitium, which was ever after known as the Rostra. Towards the end of the Republic and during the Empire the whole of this coast became a favourite residential district: here Cicero had a villa, here Augustus received the news that the Senate had conferred on him the title of Father of his Country, here both Caligula and Nero were born. The latter, indeed, had a special affection for the town, and built an artificial port and a splendid villa in which he received the news of the burning of Rome, and it seems to have been still very prosperous during the second century. It had a very famous Temple of Fortune and another of Aesculapius, on the spot where the serpent which was brought from Epidaurus was supposed to have landed.

During the Middle Ages Anzio was completely abandoned, and the two principal centres of population became Nettuno and Astura. The former is supposed to have been founded by a colony of Saracens on account of the extraordinary and picturesque costume of the women, which unfortunately is now rarely seen. During the fifteenth century the women of Nettuno anticipated those of to-day by wearing skirts that stopped at the knee, a fashion that was terminated by a decree of the scandalized Gregory XIII. The coast was first under the dominion of the Counts of Tusculum and then of the Frangipane. Nettuno passed to the Orsini and later to the Colonna, who sold it to the Camera Apostolica, in 1594. In 1791 Cardinal Pignatelli, who was coming by ship from Naples to attend the conclave, was obliged to land at Anzio, and was able to observe the conditions of the abandoned port. On becoming Pope Innocent XII he determined to restore the harbour of Nero, but unfortunately, in a spirit of false economy, he chose a scheme that formed the present port to the east of the ancient one by building a mole along the Neronian foundations, but in an opposite curve. The construction was very expensive and worse than useless, since the newly created port promptly silted up and can now be used only by small fishing boats. In 1813 a detachment of marines landed from the British fleet put to flight

the French garrison of Anzio and spiked the cannon of the fortress.

The only remains of any importance at Anzio itself are those known as the Grotte di Nerone to the west of the modern mole. The shape of the port is still perfectly visible, but most of the buildings now to be seen date from the second century A.D. Other remains of villas can be seen all along the coast. To the left of the road to Nettuno, on the heights formerly occupied by the ancient city, is the Villa Aldobrandini and the magnificent Villa Borghese, surrounded by splendid pines. On coming to Nettuno we first pass in front of the small fortress built by Sangallo for Alexander VI, of some importance in the history of military architecture. The mediaeval quarter of Nettuno is still partly enclosed within its old walls, and is very picturesque.

A couple of miles to the north of Nettuno is a fine Roman tomb known as the Torraccio del Monumento. The excursion to the Torre Astura either by boat or by land is very picturesque: about half-way are some ruins of a villa known as the 'grottoni'. Torre Astura is wonderfully situated on the remains of a villa (not that of Cicero) which had a small port of its own. During the Middle Ages it was one of the most important castles along the coast, and was considered one of the keys of Rome. It will ever be associated with the fall of the Hohenstaufen and the pitiable fate of Conradin, who, flying from the battle of Tagliacozzo to the Pisan fleet, was captured by the ships of Giovanni Frangipane and imprisoned in Astura. His captor treacherously sold him to Charles of Anjou, who, after a mock trial, beheaded him in Naples.

From Nettuno one can return to Rome via Conca by taking the road to the left in front of the large new church on the coast beyond the village. The road runs north-east with magnificent views over the Pontine marshes and the Monti Lepini. The road soon reaches the Ferriere, a now disused iron mine. The buildings still have their factory chimneys though they are now used as farms. In the grounds, on the hill to the right of the road, are the foundations of the famous Temple of the Mater Matuta of Satricum.

This Volscian city was inhabited during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., as is proved by the contents of the tombs and houses. It was of considerable size, since the temple was necessarily on the Acropolis, but the city itself may have extended as far as Conca. It was destroyed by the Romans during the Volscian war of the fourth century, but the temple was spared, only to be destroyed, apparently in the next century, by lightning. The foundations show that the temple was small and rectangular, and was several times rebuilt and enlarged. The objects found during the excavations are now in the Valle Giulia museum. Beyond the Ferriere we come to another road, both branches of which lead back to Rome. The one to the left passes Campomorto, the scene of the great battle of 1482 between the Duke of Calabria and Roberto Malatesta, commanding the troops of Sixtus IV. The latter gained a complete victory, but contracted fever and died soon after in Rome, where his epitaph thus celebrated his exploit: '*Veni, vidi, vici. Victoriam Sixto dedi. Mors invidit gloriæ.*' It then goes past Carano—where is the tomb of Menotti Garibaldi and of other members of the family—and Tor Spaccasassi and joins the road from Rome to Anzio. The other branch, to the right, passes the old castle of Conca and then runs in an almost straight line to Cisterna (p. 93).

CHAPTER II

FROM ROME TO ALBANO

I. THE VIA APPIA

Semitas meas subvertit et confregit me, posuit me desolatam.

—JEREMIAS, Lament., iii, 11

THE Via Appia, *regina viarum*, was built by the censor Appius Claudius Caecus in 312 B.C. as a great military road from Rome to Capua. It proclaims the Roman military expansion to the south, and had a military object alone, following the shortest possible line without paying the least attention to the cities through whose territory it passed. In its first stretch it appears to have followed, at least in part, the line of an ancient track that led to Alba Longa, but it does not touch any centre of importance, except Aricia, till it reaches Terracina, for Albano, Genzano, and Cisterna grew up along it, while the towns and Roman colonies in the Volscian country were simply ignored. It was later prolonged from Capua to Beneventum and Brindisi via Taranto, and Trajan opened an alternative route from Beneventum to Brindisi via Canosa. The distance from Capua to Rome was calculated a five days' march by Procopius. In the Middle Ages the tombs were turned into castles, and thus the portion from Rome to Bovillae was abandoned, while the Via Latina was, and still is, preferred to the Appia for communications with Capua and Naples. But it is interesting to note that the new express line from Rome to Naples follows the line of the Appia, and is a couple of hours shorter than the route along the Latina.

In the first portion of the way, from the tomb of Caecilia Metella to Albano, Appius Claudius traced the road over an immense flow of lava from the Alban crater, with the advantage that he was able to obtain near at hand the blocks of basaltic lava with which to pave the surface. It must not be thought that the few remaining stretches of

pavement, belonging to some very late restoration, are any indication of what the road surface was like during the Empire. A much better idea of Roman paving is given by the road to Monte Cavo (see p. 147), or by the description of Procopius in the sixth century; 'And the breadth of this road is such that two wagons going in opposite directions can pass one another, and it is one of the noteworthy sights of the world. . . . And after working these [paving] stones until they were smooth and flat, and cutting them to a polygonal shape [Appius] fastened them together without putting concrete or anything else between them. And they were fastened together so securely and the joints were so firmly closed, that they give the appearance, when one looks at them, not of being fitted together, but of having grown together. And after the passage of so long a time, and after having been traversed by many wagons and all kinds of animals every day, they have neither separated at all at the joints, nor has any one of the stones been worn or reduced in thickness, nay, they have not even lost any of their polish' (Proc. Bell. Goth., I, xiv; trans. H. B. Dewing).

Since the general custom of antiquity was opposed to any burial within the city limits, the sepulchres were usually placed by the side of the road, outside the city, yet easily visible to the wayfarer. The Via Appia being the oldest of the Roman roads it was natural that along it should be the tombs of the oldest families, such as the Scipiones, and it gradually became the most aristocratic burial-place. The most tragic event in its history was when Crassus, after the war against Spartacus, crucified his 6,000 prisoners all along the road from Capua to Rome.

It was almost entirely abandoned in the Middle Ages, but was used by Charles V for his triumphal entry into Rome in 1536, and by Marcantonio Colonna after the victory of Lepanto. By the middle of the last century it was entirely buried and overgrown, and was only excavated in 1851. Strictly speaking, the Via Appia started from the Porta Capena of the Servian Wall, but, considering the plan of this guide, we shall start our description from the Porta S. Sebastiano and shall also omit the description

of the excavations at S. Sebastiano and of the Catacombs of S. Calixtus which are usually included in any modern guide-book to Rome.

Immediately outside the gate the road descends abruptly. This incline was known as the *Clivus Martis*, from an ancient Temple of Mars, built in 388 B.C., after a vow made during the Gallic war. Of this temple, before which S. Sixtus was beheaded, no remains subsist, but it stood on the left. In the immediate vicinity the poet Terence had a small property of twenty jugera (c. twelve acres) that had been left him by Scipio Aemilianus. In the wall to the right is an inscription stating that the first milestone of the Appia (now on the balustrade of the Capitol) was found here, but in reality it was discovered just inside the gate.

The house on the right, just before the bridge, is built on an ancient tomb which has preserved some of its stucco decoration. We pass under the railway bridge, and, after the Dazio, cross the Marrana della Caffarella, the present miserable representative of the River Almo, in the waters of which the priests of Cybele dipped the statue of the goddess on March 27. A little farther on, to the left, is the lofty core of a tomb in concrete with a modern house perched on its summit. It is usually attributed to Geta, the murdered brother of Caracalla, but that prince was almost certainly buried in the mausoleum of Hadrian. On the other side of the road, at the petrol station, is a tomb consisting of a square basement with a rotunda above. Only the latter can be seen from the road, but the whole monument can be seen from the garden of the house in front of it. This is perhaps the tomb of Priscilla, wife of Abascantius, a favourite freedman of Domitian. Statius wrote a letter and a poem to the bereaved husband and describes the handsome tomb with its marble decorations and statues, fixing its approximate position.

*Est locus ante urbem, qua primum nascitur ingens
Appia, quaque Italo gemitus Almone Cybele
Ponit, et Idaeos iam non reminiscitur amnes.*

—SILVAE, V, 223

We now come to the famous chapel of the Domine Quo Vadis at the bifurcation of the Via Appia and the modern Via Ardeatina. The legend as to the apparition of our Lord to S. Peter is of the greatest antiquity. It was known in Asia Minor towards the end of the second century by the unknown author of the Apocryphal Acts of S. Peter ; in the next century Origen refers to it as a current story, and by the fourth S. Ambrose accepts it as a fact. As the usual version of the legend is a late one and considering its importance, it may be of interest to have the earliest version from the Vercelli Acts in Mr. M. R. James's translation (*The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1924, p. 333). 'The rest of the brethren besought [Peter] to depart. But Peter said unto them : Shall we be runaways, brethren ? and they said to him : Nay, but that thou mayest yet be able to serve the Lord. And he obeyed the brethren's voice and went forth alone, saying : Let none of you come forth with me, but I will go forth alone, having changed the fashion of mine apparel. And as he went forth of the city, he saw the Lord entering into Rome. And when he saw Him, he said : Lord, whither goest thou thus ? And the Lord said unto him : I go into Rome to be crucified. And Peter said unto Him : Lord, art Thou being crucified again ? He said unto him : Yea, Peter, I am being crucified again. And Peter came to himself : and having beheld the Lord ascending up into heaven, he returned to Rome, rejoicing, and glorifying the Lord, for that He said : I am being crucified : the which was about to befall Peter.'

In the ninth century we find the first mention of a church on the spot *ubi Dominus apparuit*, but the story that our Lord left the imprint of His feet on the paving-stone is much later, and led to the naming of the church as S. Maria *in palmis* or *del passo*. The church was modernized internally in 1592, and in 1637 received its present good baroque façade. It now contains nothing of interest, the original paving-stone having been removed to S. Sebastiano. About a hundred yards farther on, to the left, is a graceful round chapel where a track, the Vicolo della Caffarella, branches off from the Appia and leads to the

Triopus of Herodes Atticus. This chapel was built on land belonging to the English College by Cardinal Reginald Pole as a substitute for the larger church which was then threatening to collapse. Another account states that it is a thank-offering for having escaped at this spot from assassins hired by Henry VIII.

The road now rises; all the land to the right, where several ruined tombs can be seen, now belongs to the Trappist monks of S. Callisto. On the left we first see a large tomb, and immediately after it is the entrance to the remains of a large columbarium of the time of Augustus (it is not, however, the columbarium of the freedmen of Augustus). Discovered over a century ago, it was completely neglected, with, as usual, rather picturesque results. The large room of the columbarium is at present used as a stable, a cellar, a wine-press, and a lumber room, forming one of those contrasts that used to be far more frequent in Rome a few years ago. The view over the valley of the Almo is charming.

The road is here enclosed on either side by walls, behind which one can every now and then see the core of some tomb. Opposite the entrance to the Villa Casale is an inscription fixing the site of the second milestone. We now come to the entrance to the catacombs of S. Calixtus, the most important and best-known in Rome. I need only mention that they were first excavated in land belonging to the family of the Caecilii, the noble Christian family whose most famous martyr is the patroness of music. Few persons can pass without emotion from the underground crypt where lay the body of S. Caecilia to the mighty tomb of her pagan ancestress! Some of the tombs that still remain above ground belonged to freedmen and other members of the family.

The Via Appia Pignatelli branches off to the left. It was built by Innocent XII on the line of an ancient road that crossed the great Villa of Herodes Atticus (see p. 51), and joins the Via Appia Nuova at the Capannelle. Then, to the left of the Appia, is the entrance to the Jewish catacombs discovered in 1859; they are very extensive and are slightly different in character from the ordinary

Christian catacombs of Rome, being more like the catacombs of Naples. Most of the inscriptions are, however, in the museum of the Terme. The road descends into the valley, and just before reaching S. Sebastiano, a road on the right, the Via delle Sette Chiese, leads to S. Paolo. On this road are the catacombs of Domitilla, perhaps the most interesting in Rome.

We now come to the important Church of S. Sebastiano, in front of which, in the middle of the road, stands a column commemorating the excavation of the Appia under Pius IX. The whole area to the left of the road, between it and the Appia Pignatelli, contains the ruins of the great villa of the Emperor Maxentius. There are some traces of the presence of an older villa that was incorporated in the later constructions. The area itself formed part of the Triopus of Herodes, which in the third century was certainly Imperial property. Maxentius first built the splendid mausoleum of his son Romulus who died in A.D. 309, and later added the villa and the circus. The remains may be visited by entering the farm-house to the left of the road.

Nearest the Via Appia, and oriented on it, is a vast square that was originally enclosed on three sides by a vaulted portico, the line of the vaults being clearly visible on the enclosing wall. The site is always called the *stalle di Caracalla*, but is certainly of the time of Maxentius. In the wall, on the side towards the circus, is embedded a very large tomb of good Imperial date—a round drum on a square base. In the centre of the great square was the tomb of Romulus, son of Maxentius. It is round with a pronaos in front and on its ruins stands a modern cottage.

The circus is very well preserved and occupies a natural circus-like depression that may have been used as a circus even in the time of Herodes. The principal entrance was not from the Appia but from the curved end on the Via Asinaria, where is the great triumphal archway with the interesting dedicatory inscription discovered by Nibby in his excavations in 1825. The architecture is typical of that age, with its insistence on the curved or broken line, such as the split pediment over the entrance, and its use of motives borrowed from military architecture, such as the

two great towers at the extremities of the rows of seats. The vaults that supported the seats have fallen, but they were built, like most vaulted buildings of that period, with masonry rendered lighter by the insertion of empty jars. In the centre of the circus is the *spina*, on which stood the obelisk of Domitian, now in Piazza Navona. In the centre of the northern wall is the Imperial box that communicated by means of a long, vaulted corridor with the villa of which there are only very scanty remains.

We return to the Appia and come to the

stern round tower of other days,
Firm as a fortress, with its fence of stone.

—CHILDE HAROLD

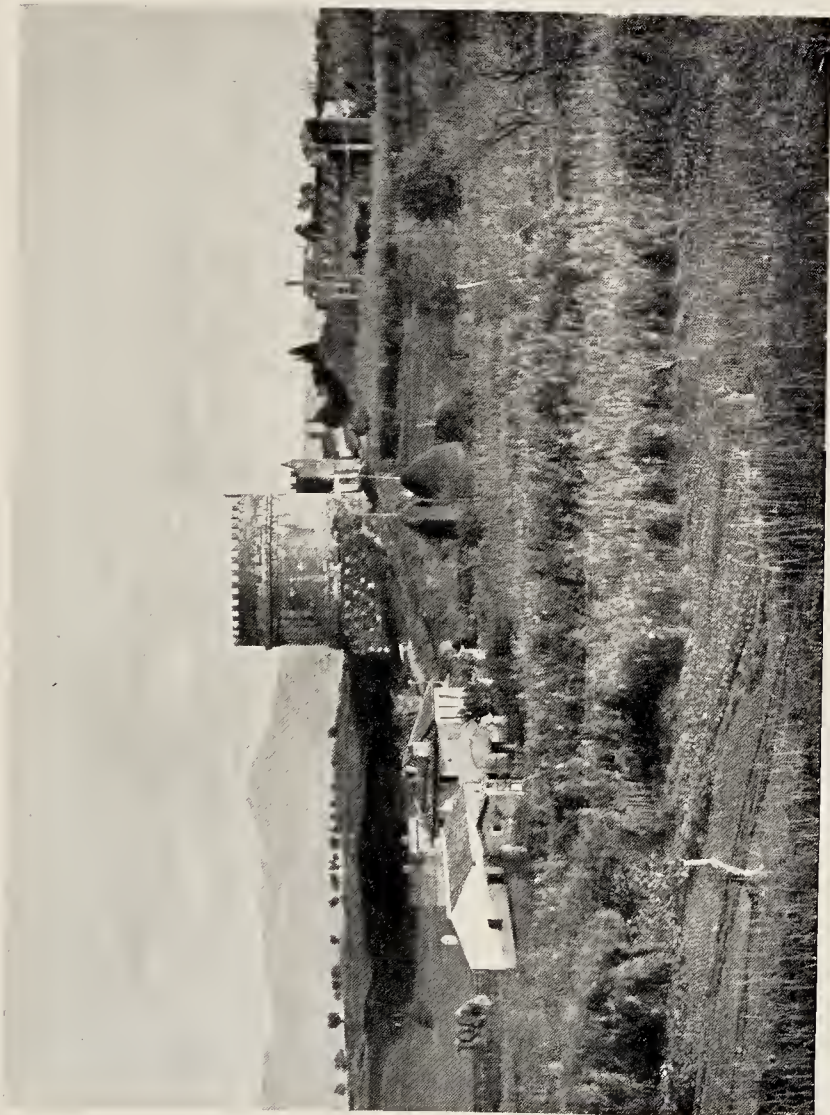
which the simple inscription on the travertine coating states was dedicated to Caeciliae—Q[uinti] Cretici F[iliae]—Metellae Crassi. Her father is easily identified as Quintus Caecilius Metellus Creticus, consul in 69 B.C., who in the following year conquered Crete; but the identification of the husband is a harder matter. The style of the building excludes that it can have been the triumvir who was slain at Carrhae, and it may either have been his eldest son or more probably his grandson, who was consul in 30 B.C. with Augustus, and conducted a most successful campaign in Moesia. The trophies of arms on either side of the inscription may refer to this campaign or to the conquest of Crete by her father. In any case the style of the mausoleum points to its having been set up in the reign of Augustus. It consists of a lofty square foundation of concrete, originally covered with stone, a round drum containing the tomb chamber, and a spire-shaped dome, now fallen, that crowned the whole. The drum still preserves its coating of travertine slabs that have weathered to a beautiful golden tint. The cornice of festoons supported by boucrania is typically Augustan and led to its being called in the Middle Ages, and even at the present day, *Capo di Bove*.

It was first turned into a stronghold by the Counts of Tusculum in the ninth century in order to protect their possessions along the Appia and dominate the road that

led to the Alban hills and the Pontine marshes, with the probable result of causing the Appia to be abandoned by travellers. It was bought by Boniface VIII, and then passed into the hands of the Savelli; it was besieged and stormed by the Emperor Henry VII. The fortifications enclosed over fifty houses and formed a parish. The walls of this *burg* are still well preserved, but the finest portion is the palace, to which the mausoleum serves as a keep, and, on the opposite side of the road, the Church of S. Nicholas. Ghibelline swallow-tailed battlements run round the top of all the civil buildings and the tomb itself. The palace is well preserved and has recently been restored, although the floor of the first story has everywhere collapsed. The castle was dismantled by order of Sixtus V since it had become a refuge for brigands, and at that time the sepulchre itself narrowly escaped being destroyed for building material. The papal government had already given its consent to the destruction, and only the energetic interference of the Roman municipality prevented it. The castle now houses a number of ancient fragments that were scattered in the neighbourhood and along the Via Appia.

A little beyond the palace we pass over some fragments of the mediaeval paving. Just outside the walls of the *borgo* we find another piece of paving, while to the left a military road leads to the Appia Pignatelli and to the Via Appia Nuova near the Latin tombs, both convenient lines of return for those who do not wish to continue along the Appia. Here begins the portion excavated by Canina, the *sezione antica dell' Appia*, and the remains of tombs become more numerous. Some of these sepulchres have been in part reconstructed by Fea and by Canina, who walled up into them any fragments or inscriptions that were lying about in the vicinity, a praiseworthy effort to keep ancient objects as far as possible *in situ* and prevent their accumulation in museums but one that is liable to confuse the uninstructed visitor.

About a hundred yards farther on we find, on the left, a large sepulchre with a small column on top and an inscription in front commemorating the measurement by Father Secchi of a base-line for triangulation between this point



TOMB OF CAECILIA METELLA (p. 31)



and the Frattocchie. The column marks the exact point of the trigonometric survey, and is important as being the base of the whole survey of Italy. On either side of the road are the quarries of *selce* or lava used for the paving of the road, and still in use. A track to the right leads to Tor Carbone on the Via Ardeatina; to the right of it, about half a mile from the Appia, are considerable remains of a large mediaeval castle called Zampa di Bove, an advanced fort of the Castle of Capo di Bove.

We continue along the Appia between ruins of tombs, some of which are the lower rooms of columbaria with the niches for urns. An inscription on a house on the right mentions the visit of Pius IX in 1853 on his return from Terracina, where he had been to assist at experiments with the electric telegraph—‘*electrico relatore experiundo*’—a recent invention at that time. Just beyond the eucalyptus-hidden Forte Appia Antica, on the right, is the large core of a tomb and, almost opposite, the ruins of a tomb with a subterranean chamber containing twenty-three niches for urns. On the right, just beyond the fort and some hundred feet from the road, is a tomb on which a look-out tower was built in the Middle Ages. To the left of the road is a modern brick construction containing numerous fragments of the tomb of a certain M. Servilius Quartus, arranged in this fashion by Canova in 1808.

We now come to another reconstructed tomb on the left, known as the tomb of Seneca. There are really no serious reasons for this identification, but we know that Seneca had an estate at the fourth milestone of the Appia, where we now are, and that it was here that he was executed or rather forced to commit suicide. The relief that forms the cornice of the modern wall, behind which can be seen the foundation of the ancient monument, probably represents the unintentional slaying of Atys, son of Croesus, by Adrastus. At once after it we find a large circular tomb, that must have been like the one of Caecilia Metella, and some distance farther on a modern wall in which Canina placed the fragments of a long inscription that decorated the tomb of the children of a Sextus Pompeius Iustus, probably a freedman of some member of the collateral

branch of the great Pompey's family. At this point the Appia, at least in late Imperial times, passed through a *pagus* or hamlet of a certain importance which is often mentioned in the Acts of the Martyrs. To the left of the road was a Temple of Jupiter of which there are still some remains. It stood in the centre of a large square and the cella had three apses, probably for the statues of the three divinities Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. These ruins, however, may be those of a large nymphaeum.

On the other side of the road a gate near a beautiful group of pines gives access to the Proprietà Lugari, which probably occupies the site of the estate of S. Marmenia, a Christian matron of the time of the Antonines. A private road from the Appia leads into the *praedium*, with numerous ruins of the various buildings which formed the estate, some of older date than that of Marmenia. The most remarkable object is a large square tomb consisting of a base containing a large crypt, and an upper portion or cella approached by a wide flight of steps. It is of the second century A.D., and is perhaps the tomb of S. Urban, who was martyred in front of the Temple of Jupiter on the other side of the road and was buried by Marmenia on her property in a tomb whose description in the Acts certainly corresponds to the monument we have before us. In the Middle Ages it was transformed into a tower called the Torre dei Borgia. The name does not seem to have anything to do with the family of that name, but rather to be the corruption of the name of the ancient fundus Burreianus that was somewhere near here.

A little farther on, always on the right of the road, is a pyramidal core of concrete in front of which has been placed an inscription of members of the Licinian family, between two truncated and headless funerary statues. Next comes a reconstructed tomb of peperino with a Doric frieze; both material and style point to an early date. Adjoining it is a brick wall, built by Canina, with numerous marble fragments, including a row of five portraits and the inscription of a certain Ilarus Fuscus. On either side of the road are the remains of several columbaria, some of the underground chambers being well preserved.

The next reconstructed tomb is one of some magnificence. In the middle of the brick wall is the principal inscription, and at either end are inscribed statue bases that were found near by in the excavations. It belonged to a family of Secondini, who appear to have been *coactores*, tax-gatherers and auctioneers, a lucrative but somewhat discreditable occupation. Anyhow, Ti. Claudius Secundus Philippianus, the head of the family, seems to have made a good thing out of it, since he was able to have so handsome a tomb in such a fashionable quarter. A youthful member of the family was already a knight at nine years of age. Pity that so promising a publican should have died so young!

A few steps farther on is another brick wall with more fragments and inscriptions, among the former a large decorative rosette, among the latter the inscription of Q. Apuleius and A. Pamphilus should be noticed. After a few more much-ruined monuments we come to a large square brick tomb, like the mausoleum of S. Urban, only smaller. It consists of a square room or cella with a wide stair in front from which one enjoys a beautiful view over the valley of the Almo and the ridge over which runs the Via Latina near the aqueduct of Claudius. The entrance to the vault is from the side farthest from the road. The next tomb is another reconstruction with the portraits of a certain Rabirius and his wife and of Usia Prima, a priestess of Isis. The latter, who is on the right, is distinguished by the sistrum and patera used in the rites of the goddess. Some distance farther on we come to more reconstructed monuments; one in peperino with pulvinia at each end and decorated with festoons, the second with numerous architectural fragments of travertine and four portraits. Then to the left of the road are some monuments built almost one on top of the other, a curious ruin in a field like a Janus arch, and a large and well-preserved columbarium. The military road that crosses the Appia at this point leads to the Via Ardeatina near Tor Carbone, passing through a characteristic stretch of Campagna with scanty remains of ancient villas.

For a short distance beyond the modern road the tombs

are not well preserved, with the exception of a large square tomb on the right that is covered with ivy and has the headless torso of a portrait statue in front of it. It is, however, much ruined, like another one in the field behind it. A little farther on is a lofty concrete core with an arch in the centre, and, still on the right just after the first pine, is a large block of marble with the inscription of a certain T. Fidiclanius Apella, evidently a Jew. Almost opposite is a large square tomb with two stories, the upper being decorated externally with pilasters in brick. The type is of the middle of the second century, and its appearance can be reconstructed from the much better preserved ones on the Via Latina. The front of the tomb had been destroyed and was reconstructed by Canina. A few steps farther on and still to the left, is another somewhat similar brick tomb; the façade is a mediaeval reconstruction for use as a tower.

The road now bends slightly to the right, and the remains of tombs grow even more numerous. Both facts may be due to a peculiar sanctity of this area. We are here at the fifth milestone from the city, approximately the boundary of the *Ager Romanus*, the territory of the Roman State during the first period of Roman history. Here tradition placed the duel of the Horatii and the Curiatii, and therefore it is here that must be placed the *Fossae Cluiliae*, the ditches that according to tradition were dug by the Albans to protect their camp. These ditches had already disappeared in historic times, but were almost certainly an early attempt at draining and irrigating the surrounding district, and may well have been executed by the Albans who ruled this territory. The war against Alba is an historical fact, for during the sixth century the Alban territory passed under the Roman dominion, and it is quite probable that a battle took place somewhere near here. The Albans would oppose the invasion of their territory at the frontier, where some considerable drainage canals furnished an artificial protection. The story of the Horatii is obviously far more legendary, and probably has its origins in the traditions of a noble family which were gradually incorporated in those of the State.

Between two pines on the right is a round tomb with a little tower on top. Then we come to a large round tumulus surmounted by a mediaeval tower, and then, some distance farther on, we see two more tumuli close together and surrounded by trees. These three mounds are large examples of the Etruscan type of funeral tumuli, which can best be seen at Cervetri. They are simply mounds of earth supported by a low drum externally faced with stone. They have usually been identified as the tombs of the Horatii and the Curiatii—the two farthest from Rome those of the two former, the one nearest Rome that of one of the latter. Though of early type they are not in themselves of great antiquity, the masonry in the drums being of the first century B.C. Tombs attributed to the heroes certainly existed in Livy's day, and it is possible that these mounds are restorations of earlier monuments. Martial mentions a *sacer campus Horatiorum*, and some archaeologists have sought to identify it with the remains of a large enclosure behind the first of the tumuli, an enclosure that others consider an *ustrinum* or place for burning the bodies of the deceased. It is, however, possible that Martial's phrase does not refer to a building or an enclosure, but is rather an epithet applied to the whole of this district.

The land to the left of the road was entirely occupied by the vast villa of the Quintilii, that covered over half a square mile of territory and was thus the largest of the villas near Rome. The extent of its ruins, more suited to a large village than to a private dwelling, gave rise to its mediaeval name of Romavecchia. The two brothers Quintilii, Condiannus and Maximus, were consuls in A.D. 151 and in 182 were put to death by Commodus, who coveted their vast wealth and was envious of their popularity. The whole family was destroyed and their property confiscated. Under Pertinax some impostor made an attempt to obtain the estates by claiming to be a descendant of the Quintilii, but the claim was not admitted. The villa continued, however, to be called by the name of the original proprietors. It appears to have been a favourite residence of Commodus, who was staying here when owing to a

scarcity of corn a tumult arose in Rome, and the populace came out to the villa to protest against the favourite minister Cleander. At first the Emperor could not hear the cries of the mob as he was in a portion of the palace some distance away from the road, but finally he yielded up the favourite, who was torn to pieces. The remains of the villa belong to three different epochs, Hadrian, the Antonines, and Maxentius, and, as is usually the case, it is practically impossible to understand the use of the various portions or to do more than notice a series of halls, reservoirs, gardens, and fountains.

The area may have once been an estate of the Caecilii which passed into the hands of Cicero's friend Atticus. Opposite the second tumulus of the Horatii are the fragments of an archaic inscription in Saturnian verse from the tomb of a Marcus Caecilius, and it has been suggested, but without any very sound reasons, that this was also the tomb of Atticus. Near by is one of the most striking monuments of the Appia, a great pyramidal core of concrete which, in consequence of the loss of the stone revetment, is supported on a slender foot and seems likely to topple over at any moment, a remarkable example of the strength of Roman concrete. It stands just in front of the enclosing wall of the villa of the Quintilii and near a large rectangular enclosure belonging to the villa but of uncertain purpose.

We return almost to the tumulus with the round tower and begin our visit to the ruins of the villa by examining the Casale di S. Maria Nuova that is built over the remains of a large rectangular cistern divided into four rooms; it is strengthened externally by large buttresses, those at the corners being especially solid. The area to the south is covered with scanty traces of buildings of uncertain purpose; since the residential portion of the palace was probably on the platform towards the Appia Nuova this wing may have been the guests' or servants' quarters. The great circular reservoir is well preserved and consists of six communicating sections: the diameter is of a hundred Roman feet.

Continuing across the fields we come to the principal group of ruins placed at one end of the great rectangular

garden that stretched from here to the Via Appia. The first building is a great hall of uncertain purpose ; since the neighbouring constructions certainly formed part of the baths, and since in excavations carried on here about a century ago many water-pipes were discovered and numerous statues and marble decorations, it is possible that it may have been the first hall of these *thermae*. It must have been a cold bath, since there are no traces of heating. A still vaster hall was probably the *tepidarium* with a large tank in the middle ; traces of the flues for heating the walls are still visible. The furnaces were probably separate and should perhaps be recognized in the subterranean chambers between the two halls. Then come the remains of a great circular building that was probably open to the sky. We have now reached the edge of the ridge overlooking the Appia Nuova ; in numerous points it is reinforced by retaining walls and buttresses. The other scanty ruins on this side are probably to be considered part of the residential portion of the villa. Returning to the Appia we pass by a vast circus-like depression that was formerly considered a stadium or hippodrome, but is more probably another great garden, like the one on the Palatine. The wall on the south side of the rectangular garden also served to carry the water channel from the large reservoir on the other side.

Having thus returned to the Appia we must examine the best known and most striking of the ruins, the great *nymphaeum* afterwards transformed into a mediaeval castle. It consists of a great wall with an apse in the centre, decorated by two rows of niches and numerous columns, some of which have recently been restored. Before this monumental façade is a series of arches with small corbels that is easily recognizable as a mediaeval addition. The space in front of this great fountain is paved with blocks of travertine originally covered with mosaic. This *nymphaeum* did not serve as a vestibule to the villa, as was long thought, but was separated from the Appia by a semi-circular wall convex to the road. The real entrance was probably somewhere near S. Maria Nuova, where we began our visit. The *nymphaeum* was fortified in the twelfth

century probably by the Astaldi or Astalli, a noble Roman family of Lombard origin. It adjoins a series of small rooms parallel to the Appia that enclose the property of the Quintilii and were probably shops for the sale of the produce of the estate. Some statues recently found here during motor ploughing are now in the Museo delle Terme.

From the nymphaeum of the Quintilii to Casal Rotondo there are no tombs of any great interest. Almost opposite the nymphaeum is a circular tomb with a somewhat elongated statue of a woman. In the fields behind it is a curious monument, usually called the *farmacia*, consisting of a series of marble tanks and basins, probably an oil press. Some fragments of decoration have been recently walled up in front of the various ruins, the most noteworthy being one on the left containing a very good portrait of a man of the first century of the Empire. We now come to the largest monument on the Appia—the great round tomb called Casale Rotondo, a great drum of concrete, considerably larger than that of Caecilia Metella, originally covered with travertine slabs. It shows traces of having undergone a considerable reconstruction; in the earlier period the drum was simply surmounted by a tumulus of earth probably decorated with cypresses; this tumulus was later removed and a masonry cone substituted, together with marble embellishments, fragments of which have been reconstructed near by. The discovery of a slab of marble bearing the name of Cotta has led to the supposition that it was originally built by Messala Corvinus, consul in 31 B.C., and a friend of Augustus, and was later transformed by his son Valerius Messalinus Cotta, to whom Ovid dedicated the last of his poem *Ex Ponto*. But both the structural history of the tomb and the interpretation of the inscription are by no means certain. It is well worth while to go to the top of the mausoleum, now occupied by a peasant's cottage surrounded by a few olive-trees, to enjoy the wonderful view over this portion of the Campagna. The Via Appia is now crossed by the Rome-Naples express line and by a good road that leads to the Capannelle racecourse on the left and to the Via

Ardeatina on the right. Either can be used for the return to Rome.

The next stretch of the Appia, from here to Bovillae, is less visited by tourists but is not less interesting than the first section. Although it has not been so completely explored, and therefore the remains are not so numerous, the tombs that still survive are fine and imposing. The mediaeval paving is preserved in considerable stretches, and consequently motoring is by no means comfortable ; with care, however, it can be negotiated in a light car. A better plan is to walk, taking tram or car to the Capanelle on the Appia Nuova and returning either by tram, train, or car from Frattocchie.

After passing some unexcavated mounds and a number of slabs from the tombs, we come, on the left, to one of the most conspicuous monuments of the Campagna—Torre Selce. It is a mediaeval tower built on a large round tomb of the usual type, but which has lost all traces of its original architectural appearance. The tower itself received its name from the quarries of selce (basaltine lava) that exist all along this section of the road. It appears to have been built in the eleventh century and to have been connected with a line of forts along the Appia, two of which were Casale Rotondo and the castle at the nymphaeum of the Quintilii. Like the latter, it belonged at one time to the Astalli. The use of white bands of marble fragments is characteristic of the period, and was probably adopted in order to render these towers plainly visible. There are no indications as to the proprietor of the original tomb.

The appearance of the ruins grows more and more indistinct and the remains of sculpture or decoration are fewer ; but there are a certain number of interesting inscriptions. The most important is one on the left on a large slab of marble, mentioning a certain C. Ateilius Euphodus, who qualifies himself a '*margaritarius de Sacra Via*'. It is now well known that the great porticus on the Sacred Way that formed the vestibule to Nero's Golden House was later occupied by fashionable shops or booths, especially by those of jewellers. Euphodus, who was a freedman, seems to have been a philanthropist ; he declares

himself a 'lover of the poor' and left his tomb to certain of his freedmen and their families. A little farther on we find the inscription of a certain Decumius Philomusus, who was nicknamed 'Mus' (mouse), and had therefore two mice sculptured on his epitaph.

In the valley to the left we see the arches of the aqueduct that supplied the villa of the Quintilii. A little farther on the road bends to the right, leaving a modern farm-house on the left, and then descends into the valley. Originally the road continued perfectly straight, and, since the ground falls away on the left, it was supported by retaining walls, some remains of which are visible under the modern farm. About half-way down the descent on the other side there is a large tomb, originally in two stories. Some distance farther on is a tomb covered with ivy in which was found a beautiful alabaster vase now in the Vatican. On the ridge to the right of the road, and at some distance from it, is a mediaeval tower, and farther on a large farm, built partly on the site of an ancient villa. To the left of the road there rises a large concrete apse with niches in the upper story; it was probably a kind of shelter for pedestrians. A little farther is the brick façade of a tomb, with a niche, probably for the statue of the deceased, framed by columns. This tomb was largely reconstructed by Canina.

The road now starts to rise again and we come to a long and very bad piece of late pavement. At the top of the ridge is a large monument of concrete with an interesting chamber with three niches. It was originally covered with blocks of peperino, many of which are still visible. We now come to a slight dip in the ground corresponding to the eighth mile of the ancient road. Near by the poet Persius had a villa, in which he died in A.D. 62, and was probably buried in one of the tombs along the road. At the beginning of the rise to the second ridge on the right is a huge round tomb that in its original state must have been nearly as large as Casale Rotondo. Immediately after it, and on the same side of the road, there is an open area with many remains of columns, originally a kind of rectangular court. From an inscription found during the excavations it seems to have been a sacred area dedicated

to Silvanus. Martial mentions a Temple of Hercules that was rebuilt by Domitian at the eighth mile, and some authorities consider these remains as having belonged to it. To the right of this court, under the modern boundary wall, is a subterranean chamber that still preserves a certain amount of its decoration in stucco.

We reach the summit of the ridge and we at once have before us, to the left, the vast aerodrome of Ciampino and to the right the farm-houses of Fiorano, where may be seen some ancient remains consisting of two tombs and a cistern. Almost opposite the aerodrome, to the left of the Appia, rises another partly reconstructed brick façade with a niche in the centre, very similar to the one we saw before. There is some reason to suppose that it may have been the tomb of Q. Verannius, the friend of Germanicus and consul in A.D. 50, who was sent by Nero to pacify the recently acquired province of Britain. He was unable to stand the climate and died soon after. Farther in the field is a round monument known from its shape as Berretta da Prete. On the opposite side of the road are traces of the pavement of a *diverticulum* that may have led to Tellene. The Appia is now crossed by a modern road that leads on the left to the Appia Nuova and on the right to Castel di Leva. Along the latter branch one comes to a watering-trough whence one can climb the hill called La Giostra, that seems to have been fortified at an early date and may have been the acropolis of the city of Tellene. Extensive ruins of Roman buildings, perhaps villas, occupy the summit.

Continuing along the Via Appia after the modern road of Fiorano we find numerous remains of tombs, some with fine mouldings. To the right of the road the modern farm-houses are built on extensive remains of buildings, some even of Republican times. All this territory may be the villa of the Emperor Gallienus who died in A.D. 268, in which case the interesting remains of a circular building with niches near the road would probably be his tomb; other authorities, however, identify the tomb of that emperor with Berretta da Prete. This point is at the ninth milestone from Rome, and was the site of the first

posting station for changing the mules or horses. The following part of the road does not present many ruins of importance. After about a quarter of a mile we find on the right a colossal round tomb of concrete with some remains of its square base covered with masonry. A stretch of the mediaeval paving about half a mile long is bordered on either side by raised side-walks. After examining on the left a large tomb with part of its peperino covering still preserved we come on the left to another large round tomb. It is built of concrete faced with reticulated work which is very well preserved at the back, where may be seen traces of the stairs that led to the upper story ; the tomb chamber with three bays is very well preserved and is entirely faced with masonry.

Immediately after this tomb the Appia is cut by the Rome-Terracina railway ; there is only a small passage in the embankment, which effectually stops any vehicular traffic. From the railway to the Frattocchie, where the Appia Antica joins the Appia Nuova, there are no monuments of any interest except, to the left of the road, a large round tomb supporting a mediaeval tower.

II. THE VIA APPIA NUOVA

Eiusdem Appiae nomen quantas tragoedias excitat !

—CICERO

This road, which in its first part probably corresponds to an ancient one, has now entirely superseded the Appia Antica, which became impracticable early in the Middle Ages. It is now one of the most important roads leading out of Rome ; the tramway to Albano follows its course almost throughout.

The Appia Nuova leaves Rome at the Porta San Giovanni, built in its present form by Gregory XIII in 1574 as a substitute for the Porta Asinaria, still to be seen at a lower level on the right. In recent years the Aurelian wall has been pierced in many places to allow the passage of the ever-growing traffic, and in years to come the gate will

probably be removed entirely ; fortunately its architecture, by Giovanni del Duca, is of no great merit. The first branch of the road is of no great interest since it has been widened in modern times.

A few hundred yards after the gate the Via Tuscolana branches off on the left, and a little farther on we come to a large round piazza in the centre of which used to stand a colossal stone pine. The foundations of several ancient buildings were found in the vicinity. The road crosses the railway lines over a bridge. Some distance farther on, in a house to the left, are the scanty remains of a tomb, important as indicating the existence of an ancient road more or less corresponding to the modern one.

We now catch sight of the aqueducts at Porta Furba, including the Aqua Felice and the Claudia and Anio Novus. The Via delle Cave, opened by Urban VIII and so called from the numerous quarries of pozzolana, leads on the left to the Tuscolana and is followed by the tram to Frascati. All this district, being at a short distance from Rome, yet, till 1927, outside the line of the octroi, is covered with osterie and taverns, and the Sunday excursion to Cave for supper is one of the most treasured customs of the Roman lower classes.

The road now descends into the valley by the well-known Osteria dei Cessati Spiriti (the Inn of the Departed Spirits), and crosses the line of the Via Latina, marked by tombs to the right and to the left of the modern road. At the top of the rise on the other side we enjoy the full view of the Campagna between the Via Latina and the aqueducts on the left and the Via Appia on the right.

A road, turning off sharply to the left, leads along the railway to Porta Furba on the Tuscolana. Some hundred yards from the Appia Nuova it crosses the line of the Via Latina, which, on the other side of the railway line, is very well preserved and deserves a visit, chiefly on account of the well-known tombs of the Valerii and of the Pancratii. The custodian is usually to be found on the spot. This section of the road was excavated in 1857-58 when the Basilica of S. Stephen, the two stuccoed tombs, and numerous inscriptions and statues were discovered.

The tomb to the left of the road covered with a modern iron roof belonged to a funeral club of the Pancratii. Like most of the tombs of the second century A.D. it was originally in several stories. The chamber at the ground level preserves the mosaic pavement in black and white, with representations of marine monsters. The room serves as a kind of deposit for various inscriptions and fragments found in the excavations. The ancient stair leads down to the underground story, which is composed of two chambers, the first one containing an unfinished sarcophagus, while the second is magnificently decorated in stucco and painting. The effect is really wonderful and is the culminating point of that style, greatly encouraged by Nero, which united both painting and stucco reliefs in the decoration of walls and vaults. Four scenes in stucco represent : Priam before Achilles ; the judgment of Paris ; Hercules playing the lyre before the Olympian divinities ; a scene of uncertain interpretation, perhaps the marriage of Admetus and Alcestis. The painted landscapes should also be noticed.

On the other side of the road is the tomb that for some unknown reason has been given the name of the Valerii. All the upper portion is a reconstruction, but the lower chamber is well preserved, and its vault is covered with fine white stucco reliefs. The style of decoration is quite different from that of the other tomb, since there is no attempt at polychromy and the decorative system, consisting in a series of round medallions, is far simpler. The central medallion contains a veiled female figure riding on a griffin, an allusion to the journey of the soul to another world. The other medallions have either Bacchic figures or Nereids riding on sea-monsters, perhaps symbolical of the soul's mystic escort to the Islands of the Blessed. Both the tombs are dated by brick stamps as being of the Antonine period.

The ground to the left of the Via Latina was occupied in Roman times by a villa which belonged first to the Servilii, then to the Valerii, and finally to the great Christian family of the Anicii. The only remains to be seen to-day are those of the Church of S. Stephen, built on the estate

by Demetrias the daughter of Anicius Olybrius, consul in A.D. 395. In the thirteenth century it fell into decay, and gradually its very site was forgotten till the excavations of 1858. The plan of the church is still recognizable, with sixteen of the columns of the nave, numerous Byzantine capitals, the confession, and several interesting inscriptions. From the grove in front of the ruins there is a wonderful view over the remains of the Claudian aqueduct.

Returning to the Appia Nuova, we find on the other side of the road another road that, after crossing the Appia Pignatelli, reaches the Appia Antica just above the tomb of Caecilia Metella. A little farther on we find, on the right, the club-house of the Roman Golf Club. A column at the corner on the Appia Nuova bears the inscription, '*Di qua si va ai bagni di Acquasanta*'. In the valley below the club-house is a large farm-house that was once the famous bathing establishment of Acquasanta, built over a medicinal spring first discovered in the sixteenth century and in use almost to the present day.

To the left of the road we see the lofty mediaeval tower, the Tor Fiscale, built at the crossing of the two aqueducts. The surface of ground thus enclosed formed the famous Campus Barbaricus, the spot where Totila placed his camp when besieging Rome. The arches of the aqueducts were bricked up, and thus formed a ready-made wall of defence round the camp; its position between the various roads leading to the south enabled the Goths to cut off any supplies that might have reached the Greek garrison of the city.

The road now descends for a short distance and passes near the magnificent arches of the Aqua Claudia. A road to the left leads across the railway line and the various lines of aqueducts, to the Via Tuscolana. It passes near the important ruins of a large villa built of reticulated masonry called '*Le Vignacce*'.

The Appia Nuova now bends to the right, heading directly for the Appia Antica and the ruins of the villa of the Quintilii that overlook all this section of the Campagna from the Appian ridge. Just below the ruins the road turns to the left at the Osteria delle Capannelle, where it is joined

by the Appia Pignatelli that leaves the Appia Antica near the catacombs of S. Calixtus. A country road on the left leads to the large casale called Roma Vecchia, on the line of the Via Latina, with numerous remains of its tombs. The picturesque thirteenth-century courtyard contains many ancient fragments and some important inscriptions. Here one can examine the channels of the aqueducts as they emerge from the ground.

From this point onwards the Appia Nuova and the Appia Antica run almost parallel to each other, gradually getting closer together. To the left of the road, just before reaching the bridge of the Rome-Naples railway, we pass a fine second-century tomb in brickwork of two colours. Immediately after the railway bridge is the beautifully situated racecourse of the Capannelle, where considerable remains of Roman buildings were found. A road to the left crosses the lines of aqueducts and a disused railway embankment, joining the Tuscolana at Sette Bassi. The road to the right leads to the Appia Antica at Casale Rotondo.

We pass by the aqueduct that supplied the villa of the Quintilii and an inn called Tor di Mezza Via di Albano. To the right we see the various tombs and ruins of the Appia, notably Tor di Selce and Torre del Palombaro. Farther on, to the left of the road, is the vast aerodrome of Ciampino, with its colossal airship hangar, one of the most conspicuous landmarks in this section of the Campagna. Just beyond the entrance to the aerodrome a road on the right leads to Fiorano and to the Ardeatina, and one on the left to the Anagnina near Casal Morena. Still farther on, the road to Marino branches off on the left and, after passing the station of Frattocchie, behind which are some remains of a tomb, it follows more or less the line of the old Via Castrimoenien-sis (p. 148). The Appia now crosses the Terracina railway near some sulphurous springs, the odour from which is sometimes very pungent. From this point it rises slightly, passing in front of the large Villa della Sirena, that once belonged to the Colonna family, who frequently entertained the popes here on their journey to Castel Gandolfo.

The Appia Antica and the Appia Nuova now unite and run perfectly straight up the severe gradient to Albano.

Just beyond the inn at Frattocchie the road to Anzio goes off on the right. The chapel contains some pieces of Cosmatesque mosaic. All this district, once occupied by the city of Bovillae, a community that succeeded to the importance and to the very name of Alba Longa, is covered with ruins, and almost every path follows the line of an ancient road. After passing a couple of tombs on the left, several paths through the vineyards on the right of the road lead to the remains of the city, comprising those of the theatre, some reservoirs, and the circus, of which four interesting arches belonging to the line of the carceres are still preserved and are visible even from the Appia. One of the arches, very much wider than the others, evidently formed the principal entrance to the circus; the material used and the simplicity of the architecture prove it to have been a work of Republican times, probably executed under Sulla, who rebuilt the city after the Social Wars.

Returning to the Appia we come to a spot called Due Santi. To the left the famous Olmata, with its entrance marked by two columns, leads to the papal villa at Castel Gandolfo; on the right an ancient road leads to Bovillae. This is probably the exact site of the fatal encounter between Clodius and Milo in which the former was slain. On January 20th, 52 B.C., Clodius was riding to Rome from Aricia, where he had been to deliver an electioneering speech, and, followed by some thirty slaves and gladiators, had passed his own country seat and had come to the sanctuary of the Bona Dea at Bovillae when he met his rival Milo, who, also followed by a large band of bravos, was going to Lanuvium. Milo was in a carriage with his wife, and both politicians must be acquitted of any personal intention of provoking a tragedy. But a quarrel arose among the followers of the two rivals and blows were exchanged. Clodius turned back both in order to support his followers and perhaps in the hopes of getting reinforcements from his own villa, but was wounded in the shoulder. His servants carried him to an inn close by Bovillae which may well have stood on the site now occupied by the inn at the Frattocchie. Milo now decided that he was already too deeply compromised to withdraw and ordered a general

assault on the inn. Clodius was dragged out and despatched, and his body was abandoned on the roadside till it was conveyed to Rome by a passing senator, Sextus Tediùs.

Passing several tombs to the left of the road and many traces of villas we come on the right to a long wall of ashlar masonry near an osteria built by a large tomb. This wall was the retaining wall of the viaduct of the Appia, which was then at a higher level than to-day. The side visible from the road is naturally the interior; the exterior, with its carefully edged blocks, is visible from the garden of the osteria, where are numerous ancient fragments from the surrounding district, notably some remains of an early Christian chapel that stood near the Olmata. The existence of this wall is important as proving the exact site of the ancient roadway.

A little farther on is the large and beautifully wooded Villa S. Caterina, formerly belonging to the Orsini and now the summer residence of the American College in Rome, to which application must be made for permission to visit it. In the grounds are the well-preserved and remarkably interesting remains of a large Republican villa. Both position and date correspond to the descriptions of the villa of Clodius, although, in the absence of any inscriptions, the identification is necessarily conjectural. We know that his villa stood near Bovillae, a little way from the Appia, on the high ground formed by the slopes of Alba Longa and in a strong position dominating the road. The existing remains consist of a considerable portion of the road that led to it from the Appia and which continued up to the Arx Albana. The villa was on the left, and in front of the entrance to it the road widened into a small, semi-circular square. The plan corresponds to that of the Pompeian house, and can be paralleled by other contemporary villas in the neighbourhood of Rome. The entrance passage leads directly into the spacious atrium, whose roof was supported by columns of peperino. Around the atrium were the living-rooms, with the reception-rooms behind it; the side to the right has not been completely explored, and may have been the bathing establishment;

one small room is a latrine. The left wing consisted of a very large peristyle of the Tuscan order, partly supported by large substructures.

Immediately after the Villa S. Caterina, the Via dell' Ercolano leads to Castel Gandolfo. It follows the line of the ancient road that passed in front of the villa of Clodius. In a vineyard to the right are the interesting remains of a colossal cistern of Imperial date, probably of the time of Hadrian, and of considerable importance, not only on account of its size and plan, but also as proving that after Domitian the Alban Villa was not completely abandoned. The ruins may be visited by asking the way at the first house on the right in the Via dell' Ercolano.

THE TRIOPUS OF HERODES ATTICUS

All the land on either side of the valley of the Caffarella between the Appia, the Latina, the city walls, and the circus of Maxentius, was certainly the great estate of Herodes Atticus, the famous millionaire and philanthropist. His father discovered near Athens a vast hidden treasure, perhaps the spoils of Greece collected by the army of Xerxes, and the son further increased his inheritance by marrying the wealthy Annia Regilla, to whom probably the Roman estate belonged. The buildings erected by Herodes after the death of his wife in A.D. 161 are very well preserved and can easily be reached by taking the Via Appia Pignatelli immediately after the catacombs of S. Calixtus. Just before reaching the curved end of the circus of Maxentius a lane on the left leads across the fields to the Church of S. Urbano alla Caffarella in front of the Bosco Sacro.

This mediaeval church is really a perfectly preserved tetrastyle temple, the portico of which has been closed after an earthquake. It originally stood on a low podium in the centre of a small square. Four Corinthian columns of Pentelic marble support the brick attic, which is surmounted by a pediment with a fine brickwork cornice. It is impossible to attribute it with certainty to any divinity :

the suggestion that it is the Temple of Ceres and Faustina is perhaps the least unlikely. The interior is very well preserved, since its transformation for Christian purposes has hardly altered it at all. It consists of a single large chamber covered with a barrel vault that still preserves considerable traces of its stucco decoration. The lower part of the walls was probably covered with slabs of marble or with frescoes ; while the space above is divided by a row of pilasters with Corinthian capitals into a number of squares which are now occupied by interesting, if much damaged and restored, Christian frescoes. These frescoes are an almost complete series of illustrations of the life of Christ and have given rise to endless discussions, especially as they have been extensively, if not quite entirely, repainted in the seventeenth century. The chief topic of controversy is their date, since on the scene with the Crucifixion it is stated that they were dedicated in 1011. This fresco is the one that has been the most radically repainted of all, and the characters of the inscription prove that it is of the date of the restoration. But it seems most improbable that the inscription could have been deliberately forged in the seventeenth century, when the restorer may have seen the original one. In the crypt are some other frescoes of a somewhat earlier date, probably of the tenth century.

In the valley of the Almo, below the plateau on which the temple stands, is a nymphæum, usually but erroneously called the Grotto of the Nymph Egeria. It is one of the most picturesque monuments in the Roman Campagna and has been drawn and painted by a great number of artists from the Renaissance to the present day. It is built in reticulated work of the second century A.D.

If we now take the path down the valley in the direction of Rome we soon come to a farm-house in front of which stands the well-preserved tomb of Annia Regilla herself, usually called the Tempio del Dio Rediculo. It is of great importance for the study of Roman architecture, and is one of the most perfect examples of brick and terra-cotta decoration, which became very popular in Rome after Trajan. The octagonal engaged columns built in niches

in the walls themselves are a peculiar feature, which, like so many other details of Roman monuments of this period, seems to have directly inspired the baroque. The interior is formed of two superimposed chambers with traces of decoration in stucco and fresco. From the farm-house a path leads back to the Appia at the Domine Quo Vadis.

CHAPTER III

ALBANO TO CASTEL GANDOLFO

*genus unde Latinum
Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae.*

—VIRGIL, *Aeneid*, I, 6

LESS popular and less spectacular than the almost obligatory excursions to Tivoli and Frascati, a visit to the shores of the Alban Lake is of equal interest to the archaeologist and to the lover of nature. The ancient monuments, as yet unspoilt by guides and tourists, will repay the trouble spent in finding them, while the scenery, though lacking the somewhat obvious impressiveness of the waterfalls at Tivoli, has a charm perhaps more satisfying to a critical eye. The visit must not be hurried ; a whole day at least should be given up to it, and the walk from Albano to Castel Gandolfo and thence to the edge of the lake should on no account be omitted.

The Alban Lake occupies the largest of the craters of the Alban hills, a group of volcanoes which were still active in prehistoric times. Near Castel Gandolfo an extensive necropolis of the Iron Age has been found buried under six feet of volcanic ash. It was probably during this eruption, perhaps in the eighth century B.C., that a vast torrent of mud and lava flowed down the slopes of the hill and across the plain, only stopping a few miles away from what is now Rome. This lava flow was later utilized for the Via Appia, and its termination is marked by the tomb of Caecilia Metella.

While recent archaeological research is ever more and more confirming some of the old traditions of Roman history, the stories as to the foundation of Alba Longa are for ever discredited. Till quite recently even its site was a matter of conjecture, but Dr. Ashby has proved conclusively that Alba Longa occupied the territory of Castel Gandolfo. When the Romans became sufficiently civilized to feel the need of a respectable, if fictitious, ancestry,

accommodating and imaginative Greeks supplied Aeneas, and then, finding that there was a discrepancy in the dates, made Ascanius found Alba Longa, a story which has little other merit than that of having been adopted by Virgil.

On the other hand, the story of the destruction of Alba by Tullus Hostilius is both possible and probable, of course after having been suitably pruned. There can be little doubt that by the sixth century B.C. the sway of Rome had spread all over the Latin district, and that Rome had taken the position formerly occupied by Alba in the political and religious functions of the Latin League. Though the city itself was razed to the ground and never rebuilt, the temples were carefully preserved and the fire in the Alban Temple of Vesta was still tended in the time of Domitian, '*Vestam colit Alba minorem*' (JUV., IV, 61). Even after the triumph of Christianity there were still some Vestal Virgins at Alba (SYMMACHUS, Ep. x, 118).

The beauty of the scenery, the pleasant and temperate climate, the easy and rapid communications with Rome, led many wealthy Romans to build great villas in the district, many of which are still well preserved. Even in the time of Sulla an Alban farm was a valuable piece of property. Pompey the Great had a villa here, as also the demagogue Clodius. That of Pompey passed into the hands of Dolabella and Mark Antony, finally becoming Imperial property. Augustus probably built the villa whose ruins are still to be seen at Palazzolo, and others were later acquired or confiscated so that the district became a favourite Imperial estate, comprising numerous villas and farms.

Domitian, who, during the reigns of his father and brother, had lived in retirement in the villa that had once been Pompey's, when he became Emperor decided to unite all the various estates in the district and to lay out a vast villa or palace that should surpass in extent and in magnificence all previous buildings. The idea may have been suggested by Nero's Golden House, which certainly furnished some details; for instance, the idea of transforming the Alban Lake into an ornamental sheet of water

may have been drawn from the *stagnum Neronis*, the pond that occupied the site on which the Colosseum was built. The Imperial domain was indeed of vast extent, stretching from the slopes of Monte Cavo above Palazzolo to the Via Appia and Ariccia. The principal part of the palace was laid out on the slopes of the hill-side towards Rome on a series of vast terraces, and the famous temples of Alba Longa, that rose on the hill where to-day stands the Pontifical Palace of Castel Gandolfo, were incorporated in the main structure. The outlying portions of the estate, notably the part now covered by Albano, was laid out as farms or as gardens decorated with imposing fountains.

The fourth Satire of Juvenal is a savage but amusing skit on Domitian's life here, and describes a meeting of the Imperial council in the villa to decide how a particularly large turbot should be cooked. A crowd of courtiers and suitors always thronged the vestibule and antechambers. Poetic contests were held here, and Statius three times obtained the prize

*qua mihi felices epulas mensaeque dedisti
sacra tuae, talis longo post tempore venit
lux mihi Troianae qualis sub montibus Albae
cum modo germanas acies, modo Dacæ sonantem
proelia Palladio tua me manus induit auro.*

—SILVAE, IV, 2, 63 ff.

After Domitian's death the Alban villa was abandoned as a residence, especially after the construction by Hadrian of the still vaster one at Tivoli, but it remained Imperial property and was evidently kept in good repair. When Severus came to the throne in A.D. 193 he decided to disband the Praetorian Guard, which had become a source of constant trouble, and to replace it by the second of the three Parthian legions which he himself had founded. According to the old laws of the Republic no legions could be quartered in Italy, and the feeling on the subject was still strong enough to prevent their being brought into Rome itself. Severus therefore decided to quarter them within easy marching distance of the city, and built a great fortified camp, the only one in Italy proper, on a part of the

Alban estate near the Via Appia, in a strong strategical position.

The legionaries, following the custom of Roman soldiers in a stable garrison, settled down at once and made themselves comfortable. They married and formed families; shops of all kinds sprang up round the camp, a great thermal establishment was built on one side, an amphitheatre on the other. Thus an important town grew up, absorbing the population of the surrounding villages and destined to become the present Albano. Christianity soon spread among the population, catacombs were excavated, and by the beginning of the fourth century the faithful were sufficiently numerous to have a bishop whose see Constantine endowed by the cession of the Imperial property in the district. This action was perhaps not quite as disinterested as at first might appear, for the upkeep of the estate must have been a considerable expense with hardly any return.

The *Albanum Caesaris* thus became one of the suburbican sees of Rome and the second in dignity. Its cardinal-bishop was privileged to deliver the sermon at the coronation of the Pope. In the twelfth century we find it already a free commune, supporting the Pope against the Emperor. In 1147 the See of Albano was held by Nicholas Breakspear, afterwards Hadrian IV, the only English Pope, who, as a boy, had been refused admission into the Benedictine Order by the Abbot of S. Albans in England, a fact that was noted and commented on by contemporary chroniclers. Albano joined the other communes of Latium in a league to resist the encroachments of the city of Rome, but, the struggle of the investitures having been settled, the forces of both Pope and Emperor came against the city, which was captured and destroyed in 1168.

After this disaster Albano and its territory passed into the powerful hands of the Savelli. Eugenius IV destroyed it again in 1436 during his wars against the Roman barons, and it was sacked in 1482 by the troops of Sixtus IV. The Savelli recovered it and held it till 1596, when they were forced to sell it to cover their debts. It was bought by the Apostolic Camera and the fief was thus extinguished.

The wines of the district were famous in antiquity, and both Horace (CARM., II, viii, 16) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (I, 66, 3) consider them only second to the Falernian. At the present day the wines of Albano are not greatly esteemed; those of Castel Gandolfo and Marino are much superior. In antiquity they were wines that improved with age—*Est mihi nonum superantis annum Plenus Albani cadus* (HOR., IV, xi, 1); *Albani veteris pretiosa senectus* (JUV., XIII, 214)—but now they do not keep well.

On arriving at Albano either by tram or by car visitors should inquire for the custode Marasco either at the Villa Doria or at the fur-shop in the little square on the Corso. The Terme should be visited first, then the camp and the piscina, and lastly the amphitheatre. After noticing the view from the Capuccini, visitors should proceed by the Galleria di Sopra to Castel Gandolfo, visiting the Villa Barberini on the way. It is possible, though hardly advisable, to motor along the upper road; it is better to send the car on to Castel Gandolfo. After lunch can be seen the emissarium and the nymphaea. Castel Gandolfo boasts of two good trattorie, with terraces overlooking the lake, the Leon d'Oro in the square opposite the Pontifical Palace and the Paganelli at the junction of the station road with the Galleria di Sotto. The former has the better wine and is chiefly patronized by Italians; the latter has a better appearance and caters more for foreigners.

The walk to Palazzolo, and thence either round the lake to Marino or up the hill to Rocca di Papa, is much longer and more fatiguing; lunch must be brought from Rome, but wine is better and cheaper at Albano. It is unwise to drink the water of Albano but that of Castel Gandolfo is quite safe.

Just before the Via Appia enters Albano it passes, on the left, a lofty monument of concrete faced with masonry, known as the Tomb of Pompey. It was originally covered with marble and probably had several stories decorated with columns; the style of the architecture is not earlier

than the second or third century A.D. Plutarch states that Pompey's ashes were carried to his wife Cornelia, who deposited them in the Alban villa. There is reason to believe that either no monument was set up or that his tomb was not very conspicuous since Varro Atacinus said in his well-known epigram :

*Marmoreo Licinus tumulo iacet : at Cato parco
Pompeius nullo : quis putet esse Deos.*

The beautiful Villa Altieri, opposite this tomb, occupies part of the area of Pompey's villa and belonged to the heroic Cardinal Altieri, Bishop of Albano, who died through tending his flock during a terrible and inexplicable outbreak of cholera in 1867. The ex-Queen of Naples, Theresa of Austria, was another illustrious victim of this pestilence.

The town used to be entered through a gate which was removed some years ago in order to permit the passage of the trams. On the right is the large VILLA DORIA, now municipal property. The gardens are the finest in Albano and occupy the principal portion of Pompey's villa of which many remains can still be seen and have recently been excavated. The great avenue of stone pines is one of the finest in the world, and can be seen for miles.

The cathedral is in a small square to the left of the Appia, just after the tramway station. Originally perhaps a basilica connected with the camp, it was rebuilt by Constantine and dedicated to S. John the Baptist. Pope Leo III (795-816) rebuilt it after a fire and dedicated it to S. Pancrazio, still the patron saint, whose festival is celebrated with much pomp. The sacristy contains a drawing of the interior of the church before it was modernized.

The Municipio is in the old baronial palace of the Savelli, and was for a time a residence both of Prince Charles Edward and of his brother, the Cardinal of York.

About half-way down the Corso, which corresponds to the Via Appia, is a small square on the left side of which are some ancient vaulted constructions that support the

modern buildings. They may have been cisterns for the baths. On the other side of the road is the fur-shop where the custodian of the Alban antiquities is usually to be found.

The BATHS occupy all the ground to the right of the Appia as far as the railway station, and are in a remarkably good state of preservation. Unfortunately all the houses in this district, known as Cellamaio, have been built inside them, utilizing their rooms and walls; it is therefore almost impossible in a hurried visit to get any clear idea of their distribution. They were built at some time in the third century for the use of the soldiers in the camp on the other side of the Appia. It has been suggested indeed that they were built by Caracalla to appease the anger of the troops after the murder of Geta, and that there was a direct communication between the camp and the baths, the Via Appia being crossed by a bridge.

The Church of S. Peter, immediately on the right of the Corso, is built in a portion of the baths, which incorporated part of a still earlier building of masonry. The effect of all these various types of construction is rather startling. The Savelli, in the fourteenth century, built the fine Campanile decorated with some good pieces of Cosmatesque work. The jambs of the side doors on the Corso are formed of parts of a magnificent Roman frieze, of the time of Severus, that perhaps decorated the baths.

The most important remains of the Terme are those incorporated in the convent of the Suore di Maria e Gesù. Visitors are allowed to enter the convent if accompanied by the custode of the other antiquities. From the terrace at the back of the convent is visible the whole southern façade of the building, consisting of a series of vaults, now partly used as cellars, where are the *præfurnia*, the furnaces for the heating, and various rooms and passages for the service; above comes the main story with seven great halls with large windows and considerable remains of a second story.

The CAMP lay, as we have said, on the slopes of the hill on the other side of the Via Appia. It is a vast walled rectangle, covering an area that is almost three-quarters

that of the Praetorian Camp in Rome, and having, for some unexplained reason, its shorter sides parallel to the Appia. The four corners were strengthened by round towers and the walls are of ashlar masonry throughout. Nearly the whole of the circuit can be traced, partly above ground and partly in the cellars of the houses that have been built on its ruins.

Starting from the little square on the Appia, the Via Aurelio Saffi, in climbing the hill, traverses diagonally the site of the camp. To the right and left the Vie Cavour and del Plebiscito mark the intervallum, the road that inside the camp separated the walls from the other buildings. A little farther on, to the left, is the Church of S. Maria della Rotonda, that incorporates a round, four-niched building of the time of Domitian, perhaps a fountain decorating this part of the park. After the construction of the camp it may either have been used as a watch-tower or have been connected with a small bathing establishment, some remains of which have been found under the neighbouring school.

To the right of the Via Aurelio Saffi the Via del Castro Pretorio leads to the Via di S. Filippo, which runs along the southern side of the camp. The wall is here magnificently preserved from the upper corner to the Porta Principalis Sinistra, still preserved in the wall of the Prelatura Doria. Half-way up the Via di S. Filippo the line of the wall is broken by a small square tower, perhaps a look-out.

In the higher portion of the camp is the great CISTERN, the most important monument in Albano; the custode has the key of the iron gate on the right of Via Aurelio Saffi. The cistern, although not one of the largest, is certainly one of the best preserved of this kind of buildings in which the Roman genius for practical engineering is exhibited in its most imposing aspect. It is about 150 feet long by 100 feet wide; the vaulted roof is supported by four rows of piers twenty-two feet in height. The outlet is below the steep staircase that leads down to the floor, a position that explains the trapezoidal shape of the cistern. There are two inlets, the principal one in the roof of the central compartment and a smaller and later one in the

north corner. The floor beneath these two inlets is paved with large tiles in order to break the force of the falling water. The building is partly excavated in the rock of the hill and partly built of brick and concrete ; walls and piers are rendered absolutely waterproof by a thick coating of cement. The aqueducts and the outlet are still in working order, and the cistern is used during the summer for irrigation.

The Via Aurelio Saffi comes to an end in front of the Church of S. Paolo. The convent to the right of the church is built over the north corner of the camp, the curve in the masonry being clearly distinguishable.

The road that passes to the left of the church continues up the hill. A gate in the wall to the right gives access to the ruins of the AMPHITHEATRE. Built some time in the third century for the amusement of the garrison, it is partly excavated in the hill-side—the whole arena is cut in the rock—and partly supported by a great terrace, the buttresses of which are still visible. The road from which we enter passes over the northern half of the building that acts as a kind of embankment for the hill-side above it ; thus only the southern half has been excavated in recent years.

The path from the modern gate leads to the western *vomitorium*, one of the two main entrances to the arena. The concrete of the side walls is faced with stone blocks obtained while excavating the arena. A line of blocks placed across the entrance shows traces of sockets for wooden posts and supported a kind of fence to regulate the access. Externally the amphitheatre consisted of two superimposed arcades that supported the cavea ; of these the lower one is still well preserved, although it has lost its facing of stone and brick. The second archway after the *vomitorium* is still filled with earth, but the third one is well preserved, and in Christian times was turned into a chapel. The fourth was probably used as a store-room for the numerous properties employed in the production of the spectacles, and the fifth has traces of the stair that led to the upper seats. The sixth is closed by a wall which turns it into a small room with a narrow window on the

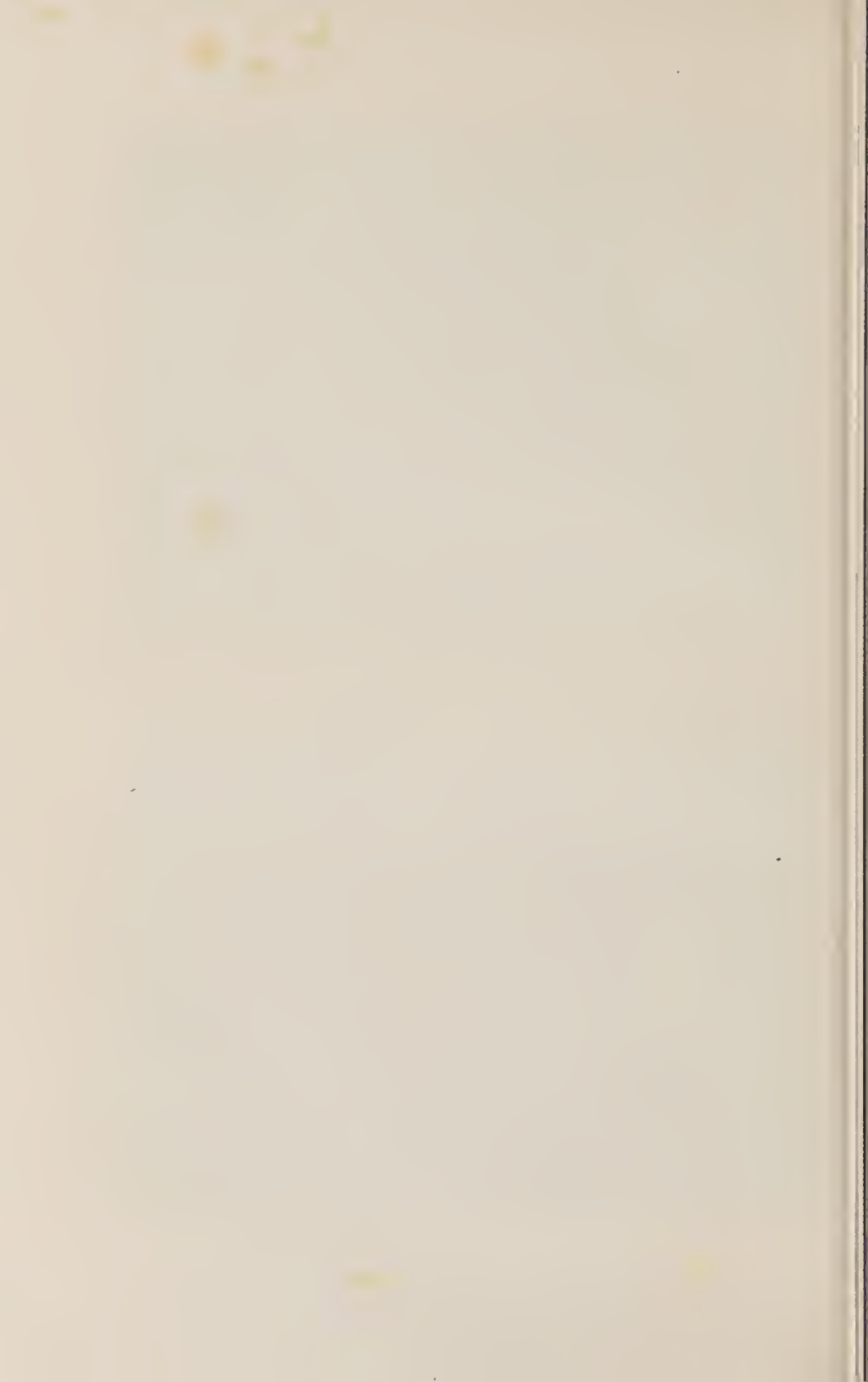


THE CISTERN (p. 61)

ALBANO



THE AVENUE IN THE VILLA DORIA (p. 59)



outside. Access to this room is from the seventh arcade that forms a corridor through the whole thickness of the building and communicates with the arena by means of a small door. Traces of the use of wooden partitions show that this passage was used in the production of the games ; in one of the rooms on the left may have been kept the wild beasts before they were driven into the arena, while the other communicates by means of a stair with an underground passage that leads to the centre of the arena. The next archway has another stair for the public and the next three are more store-rooms. These had all a kind of loft, the floor being supported by the stone corbels in the walls. The last one was later turned into a latrine. The twelfth archway is occupied by stairs to the *moenianum*. The thirteenth is in the centre of this side of the arena and communicates with it ; this corridor too was probably closed to the public and only used by the servants of the person presiding over the games, with whose box it is connected by two short stairs. The fourteenth is externally decorated with two brick columns and leads to a large box in the centre of the southern side that has some traces of its paving still left. It was used by the emperor or by his deputy who presided over the spectacles. The remaining arcades present the usual alternation of stairs and store-rooms. At the extreme end of this side we find the eastern *vomitorium*, which, since the amphitheatre is here right under the side of the hill, consists of a large passage divided into two parts at right angles to each other. The interior of the building is much destroyed, not a seat being still in position, and the arena, with its complicated system of underground passages and drainage channels, is now entirely overgrown.

Returning to the road we continue up the hill and come to the church and wood of the Capuccini. The view from here is superb, and pleasant hours may be spent in the beautiful wood that belongs to the convent, to which men alone are admitted. It occupies part of the extensive cemetery that belonged to the garrison of the camp.

Three roads meet in front of the Capuccini ; the central one, the *Via dell' Anfiteatro*, leads back to the *Via Appia* ;

the one on the right, the Via del Parco Chigi, goes to Ariccia through lovely woods. We take the road on the left. After a few yards it divides; the path on the right goes to Palazzolo (*vide infra*); the road on the left is the Galleria di Sopra. This magnificent avenue of ilexes, together with the lower one, the Galleria di Sotto, was laid out by Urban VIII when he made Castel Gandolfo the papal summer residence. The name Gallerie was given to them because the trees form a kind of natural tunnel.

After passing on the left the modern cemetery of Albano and a chapel with the recent tombs of members of the Barberini family, we find ourselves dominating the Alban Lake, which is about six miles in circumference. All the ground from here to Castel Gandolfo on both sides of the crater rim was occupied by the principal portion of the Villa of Domitian. Every now and then to the right of the road we see traces of the two aqueducts that supplied it with water. The road soon opens out into a beautiful square over the lake, decorated with Stations of the Cross. The building on the left is the summer residence of the College of Propaganda Fide (permission to visit it must be obtained in Rome from the rector). It is built over some very interesting cisterns of Domitian's villa. In the convent gardens there is another magnificent cistern excavated in the rock, consisting of three long halls, one of which has preserved its vaulting.

A little farther on, to the left, is the entrance to the VILLA BARBERINI. By a clause in the recent treaty between the Vatican and the Italian Government the latter is to expropriate it and give it to the Pope (visitors will probably be allowed to see the gardens). It occupies the central of the three terraces of Domitian's villa. A path to the left of the entrance leads to an open space at the beginning of the garden, decorated with ancient herms and fragments of sculpture. On the left, partly under the wall that separates the garden from the Galleria di Sopra, is the THEATRE. It is half buried and entirely overgrown, but a portion of the passage under the cavea is accessible and is decorated with fine stucco reliefs of the time of Domitian, representing figures of muses framed in an architectural

decoration. The scene of the theatre was on the side towards the plain, and the square in the garden is on the site of the quadriporticus that lay behind the scene. Some vaulted rooms of this portion of the palace are visible from the private garden.

The great wall to the left of the theatre supported the third or highest terrace on which at present runs the Galleria di Sopra. The aspect of this great wall was enlivened by four large niches or nymphæa, alternately square and semicircular. After the last of these fountains there is an opening in the wall that formed a passage—now closed—through the hill to a small platform or loggia overlooking the lake, the remains of which are still to be seen in the grounds of the Villa Vivante on the other side of the Galleria di Sopra. Just after the entrance to this passage come the much overgrown ruins of the residential portion of the villa. The state of the ruins is such that it is impossible to make out even the succession of the various rooms. The building was at least three stories high, and the number of water-pipes in some of the walls suggests that a portion at least was occupied by baths.

We now return to the entrance, passing over the terrace, whence there is a magnificent view over the Campagna. The terrace is still the ancient one of the Imperial villa and is supported by a great vaulted cryptoporticus, a considerable portion of which is visible from below. The first and lowest platform of the villa was occupied by the circus and by the stables, and was approached from the Appia by two roads, one of which corresponded roughly to the present Galleria di Sotto.

Leaving the Barberini villa we enter CASTEL GANDOLFO, which consists of one long straight street that ends in a square in front of the Pontifical Palace. The village is entirely modern. It is first heard of in the eleventh century, when it was under the patronage of S. Michael. In the twelfth century, it became the principal castle of the Genoese family of the Gandolfi, from whom it passed into the hands of the Savelli, who held it till their bankruptcy in 1596, when it was bought by the Apostolic Camera. Urban VIII decided to make it the papal summer residence

and began the construction of the PALACE from designs of Carlo Maderno. It was completed by Alexander VII, and is still papal property, being expressly mentioned in the Law of Guarantees and the recent treaty.

In the courtyard are some fragments of ancient statues. The papal apartments are worth visiting in order to get an idea of the life of the court during the nineteenth century, and to enjoy the views from the windows. The chapel of Urban VIII is decorated by the Zuccari. The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception was signed on the magnificent desk in the Pope's study. Some frescoes in the room off the billiard-room depict the life of Clement XIII at Castel Gandolfo, and are interesting as a document of eighteenth-century customs and dress.

The CHURCH of S. Thomas of Villanova that stands in the square was built by Bernini for Alexander VII, and the internal decoration of the dome is very pleasing. The altar-piece is by Pietro da Cortona. A steep road to the left of the palace leads down to the Galleria di Sotto. Motors usually return along the principal street, and take a road to the right which skirts the old Villa Cybo and reaches the Galleria di Sotto opposite the summer residence of the Jesuits. After the suppression of the order in the eighteenth century an Englishman, Thomas Jenkins, turned it into an hotel patronized by Goethe.

Just beyond this villa, in the direction of Marino, a road to the left, the Via dell' Ercolano leads back to the Appia just above the American College. A little farther on, to the right, is the Ristorante Paganelli. A very steep and winding road, but easily negotiable by cars, descends to the station of Castel Gandolfo, and, after passing several remains of ancient terrace walls that supported the numerous buildings round the lake, reaches the Casetta dei Pescatori on the shores of the lake. Just before this point, to the left of the road, is a large NYMPHAEUM, consisting of a room excavated in the rock. The side walls have niches that are separated by Doric pilasters and surmounted by a frieze of the same order. The end wall is decorated by a broken pediment, one of the earliest examples of this motive. The nyphaeum itself is earlier

than Domitian but was probably incorporated in the domains of the villa. The key is kept by the custodian of the emissarium.

A beautiful walk of about a mile leads along the shores of the lake to the Ninfeo Bergantino and the emissarium. All along the path, and half submerged in the water a few yards from the shore, are numerous large blocks of masonry, the remains of the wide embankment or quay of Domitian's villa. At one time this quay was believed to have encircled the whole of the lake, but accurate surveys have shown that it only existed here and at a point on the other side. Just about half-way between the Doric Nymphaeum and the emissarium we come to the Quadri where, in the water, are considerable remains of a pier and the round foundations of a lighthouse. A path that follows the line of an ancient road leads from here to the station. Continuing the path along the shore we soon notice in the side of the crater traces of extensive quarries, and in one of these caves we find a little house, a twentieth-century cave-dwelling, the residence of the custodian of the antiquities of the lake. Next to this cave is the large NINFEO BERGANTINO, built by Domitian inside a disused quarry, to which fact is due its very irregular plan. A large basin occupied the centre of the floor, which had a very fine mosaic, a few remains of which are still visible. A lofty podium at the end of the grotto dominates the whole room and must have offered a delightful view of the fountain with the lake as a background.

The custodian accompanies visitors along the lake to the EMISSARIUM. The legend, told by Livy (V, 15), Dionysius (XII, 8), and Plutarch (Camil. 3) is well known. For many years the Roman armies had been engaged in the siege of Veii, when, in 398 B.C., the waters of the lake suddenly and with no obvious cause started to rise alarmingly and even began to flood the surrounding country. An embassy was sent to the oracle of Delphi, which answered that the Romans should draw off the waters of the lake in such a way that they should not reach the sea but should be lost in the fields of the Roman Campagna. This was done, and Veii fell soon after. The tradition is

probably accurate in fixing the excavation of the emissarium as having taken place during the war against Veii at the end of the fifth or at the beginning of the fourth century B.C. The object, however, was probably economic ; an attempt to deal with the enormous subterranean percolation of water in the subsoil of the Campagna, which is still an important problem.

The entrance to the emissarium consists of a fine room, originally vaulted, with walls in ashlar masonry of the end of the Republic. The tunnel itself is about a mile and a half long. The story that it was dug in little over a year is by no means improbable ; the rock itself is not very hard, and, although only two men could work at the rock face, a number of vertical shafts were dug both for purposes of ventilation and to facilitate the removal of the dirt from the excavation. The channel runs perfectly straight for a few hundred yards, and then bends slightly. The custodian sends down on the current a float with a lighted candle to show the curvature of the channel. The Alban Emissarium is perhaps one of the most perfect works of Roman engineering. After 2,300 years it is still in efficiency and throughout this period it has continued to do its appointed work without the need of any repairs.

Another charming walk is along the other shore of the lake, from the Capuccini to Palazzola, passing by the ruined castle of Malaffitto, which guards the springs used by Domitian for his villa. The convent of Palazzola, now the summer residence of the English College, is built on an ancient site which was known as Palatiolum (the small palace). It was probably the estate placed at the disposal of the consuls when they celebrated the *Feriae Latinae* on Monte Cavo, since the ancient road runs not far above it (see p. 147). Near it is a magnificent tomb sculptured in the rock, with, on the front, the lictors' fasces on either side of the bisellium, with the priestly cap and staff. This combination of symbols does not denote an early ecclesiastical Fascist (a leader perhaps of the 'Centro Cattolico'), but some one who combined the consulship with the pontificate. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that it is

the tomb of Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispallus, who, being both pontiff and consul, in 176 B.C. had a stroke on descending the Alban mount after presiding at the festival, and died shortly afterwards. The extensive and picturesque caves in the hill-side are ancient quarries.

The present monastic buildings are charmingly situated but of little interest. The church was certainly in existence in the twelfth century, and in 1244 it was declared an abbey, but it was speedily abandoned. In 1391 it was granted as a summer residence to the Carthusians of S. Croce, and in 1463 it was visited by Pius II, who had the tomb of Hispallus cleared of vegetation. The widespread brigandage rendered such a solitary place a residence of considerable danger, and the monastery was almost completely abandoned. In 1740 it was bought and entirely restored or rebuilt by the Portuguese Minister, Father Fonseca da Evora, and it remained a possession of the Portuguese crown till the revolution of 1912. In 1920 it was bought by the English college. In the church and in the garden may still be seen many traces of the earlier building.

A little above Palazzola is the large palace built in 1629 by Cardinal Girolamo Colonna, who is buried in the church at Marino. On the shores of the lake below Palazzola are considerable remains of a large Roman villa which had a double portico opening on the lake, while the living part was probably behind. Near it is the almost entirely ruined church and hermitage of S. Angelo, which is mentioned as early as 1116, but was destroyed in 1773 because the deserted building had been used by brigands and footpads.

Another pleasant walk from Albano is that to Castel Savello, for which one takes the road to the Pavona, to the right of the railway station. The ruins of this famous castle, the centre of the power of the Savelli, stand on the low hill that is such a conspicuous feature of the view from Villa Doria. It was really a small city rather than a castle, and was only abandoned definitely in the seventeenth century. There are some remains of churches and of the baronial palace.

CHAPTER IV

ARICCIA, GENZANO, NEMI, AND VELLETRI

Dianae sumus in fide.

—CATUL., 34, 1

THE modern road from Albano to Ariccia no longer follows an ancient line, but is one of the principal engineering works accomplished in the nineteenth century in the Papal States. The level of the road between Albano and Ariccia and between Ariccia and Genzano is maintained by means of two very lofty viaducts, the first over 900 feet long and 600 high, the second over 300 feet long, which span the two ravines at either side of the modern village. The inscriptions on the columns give the dates: begun 1846, finished in 1853. The present prosperity of these Castelli Romani is largely due to the opening of this road.

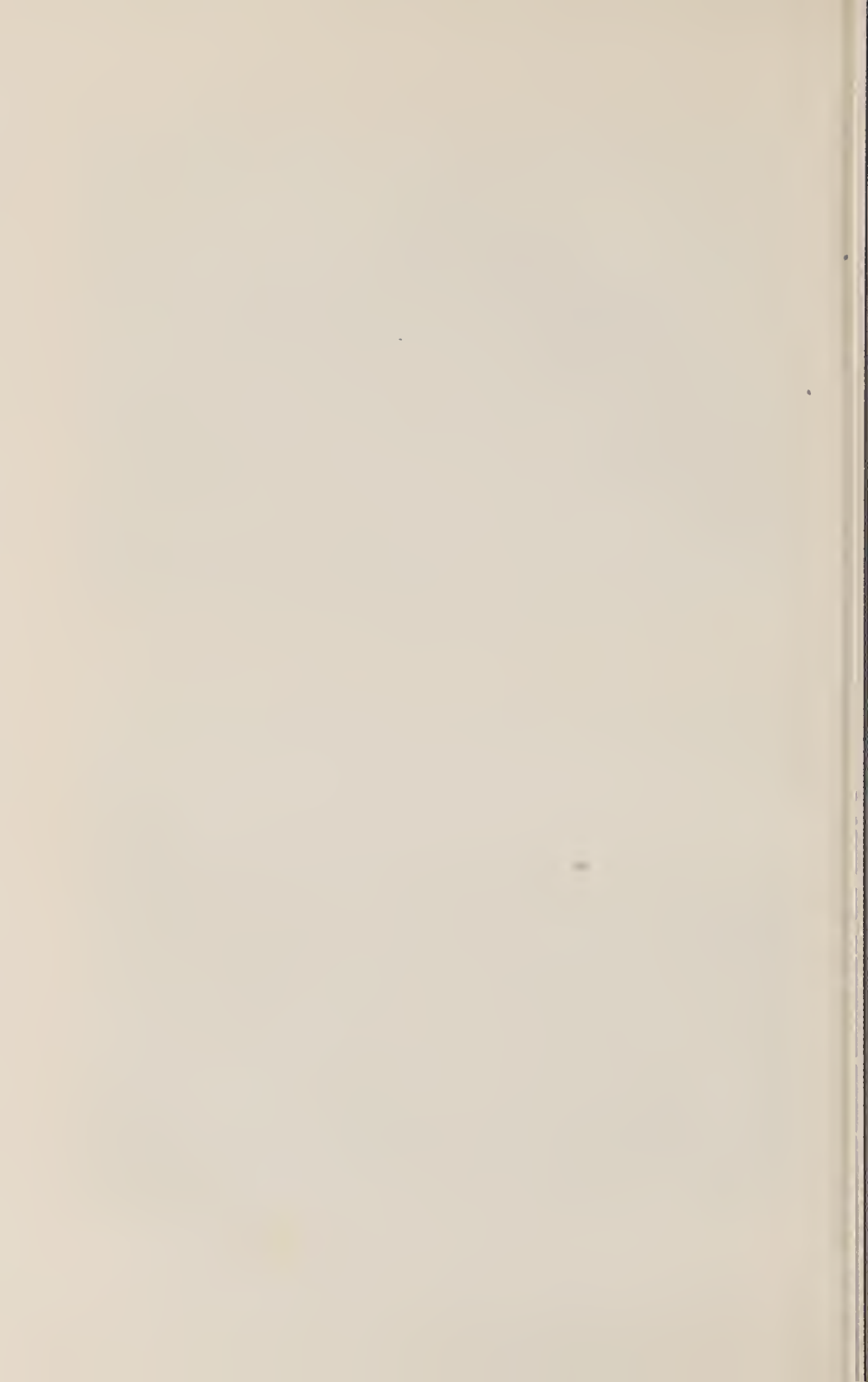
Aricia is said to have been founded by a Siculan chief named Archilocus, an evident contamination of Greek and Italic legends. It first appears in history when its chief, Turnus Herdonius, attempted to oppose the hegemony of Tarquin the Proud. At the beginning of the fifth century it was undoubtedly the scene of a great battle in which the Latins, supported by the Greeks of the Campania, utterly defeated a great Etruscan force. The legend states that the Etruscan army was commanded by Aruns, the son of Porsenna, who was slain in the battle. The absence of any Roman contingent is a proof that Rome was still under Etruscan overlordship, and it is probable that one of the chief results of this battle was the complete collapse of the Etruscan influence south of the Tiber. Aricia then took part with the other Latin cities which were defeated at Lake Regillus, but was included in the Cassian treaty. It is obvious therefore that these events are later than the battle. Another great battle was fought here between the Romans and the Auruncans, when the



ALBANO : THE THERMAE (p. 60)



ARICCIA AND THE CAUSEWAY OF THE VIA APPIA (p. 74)



latter were defeated. It again fought against Rome in the great Latin war, but received the full citizenship at the close of the campaign. The construction of the Appian Way must have increased its prosperity considerably. It was sacked by Marius in 87 B.C., but was restored by Sulla.

But its situation on the high-road was probably a considerable drawback during the barbarian invasions, when the city declined rapidly. The territory seems to have belonged to the Church, which transformed it into a castle guarding the Appia by granting it to the Counts of Tusculum, from whom it passed to the Malabranche. The latter in 1223 sold it to Honorius III, who conferred it on his own family, the Savelli, but always maintaining the direct jurisdiction of the Holy See. The Savelli remained in possession, with intervals, till the seventeenth century, and a branch of the family drew its title from here. This branch came to an end in tragic circumstances in 1534. Giacomo Savelli, the son of the reigning Lord, became enamoured of the fair wife of one of his father's vassals, Cristoforo Lamentana, and made many attempts to seduce her. The wife was faithful and showed the young prince's letters to her husband. Cristoforo, mad with jealousy, dressed himself up in his wife's clothes, gave the prince an assignation in his own house, which tradition states was No. 3 on the Corso, and there killed him. The affair caused a terrible scandal. Camillo Savelli, the father, lost his reason and died soon after, but Cristoforo managed to escape although a price of 30,000 crowns was placed on his head. His whole family was arrested and his innocent wife would have been executed but for the intervention of the Duchess of Parma. Ariccia then passed to the Albano branch of the family which, in 1661, sold it to the Chigi, the present owners.

The village occupies the triangular summit of a hill overlooking the great crater of Vallariccia. The sides are all precipitous, except at the apex, behind the Chigi Palace, where a narrow neck of land joins it to the Alban mount. This is probably the site of the earliest settlement and was the Arx of the Roman city when, after the construction of the Appia, the town had spread into the plain.

A few pieces of the walls of the Sullan period are still in existence, but otherwise there are no ancient remains except some interesting rock-cut tombs in an old quarry to the right of the road to Rocca di Papa (see p. 148).

The Church of the Assumption in the square was built by Bernini for Alexander VII on the site of an older church. It is in his most restrained style and shows the influence of Borromini. It is a fine design but is not quite successful. The effect is not as good as the richer and more flamboyant S. Andrea del Quirinale or the even simpler church at Castel Gandolfo; perhaps the chapels are not deep enough. The finest part is the dome, with its stuccoes by Antonio Raggi. The Chigi Palace opposite is a fine building, originally the Savelli Palace but enlarged and modernized by Bernini. It has a beautiful park and contains some antiquities.

The interesting remains of the ancient Aricia are at the foot of the modern town, in the Vallariccia, and well repay a visit. It is best to go on foot from Albano along the ancient Via Appia, which leaves the modern road just outside Albano, beyond the Villa Venosa. On the left is a very large tomb, usually called that of the Horatii and Curiatii, or that of Aruns. It consists of a square base faced with Alban stone and surmounted by five truncated cones, like the metae of a circus. It is a tomb of Republican date and probably influenced by the Etruscan mausolea of the region of Chiusi, where this type, rather than the circular tumulus, seems to have been fashionable. It originally stood on the right of the Appia, which passed between it and another tomb below an archway of the modern road embankment.

We now reach the Church of S. Maria del Carmine, or della Stella, formerly a Carmelite monastery. It is built over some interesting Christian catacombs (inquire of the sacristan or ring at the convent door), containing a number of chapels, some of which have traces of several layers of fresco. The first one to the left has an interesting representation of the Saviour between the Virgin and S. Smaragdus, probably of the tenth century, and a work of a local school of painters who were following Byzantine

models. Other loculi have figures of saints painted over earlier ones. The bodies of the local martyrs Innocent and Felix were found here in 1824.

From here the modern track corresponds exactly to the ancient road and passes a considerable number of ancient monuments, mostly sepulchral, on either side. A big platform on the left has been attributed to a Temple of Aesculapius; it is more probably a villa-platform. In its lower portion the road preserves in part the ancient side-walks and, near the bottom, a small portion of the ancient pavement. It now turns slightly to the left and is followed by a modern very rough road from Albano. We soon reach a modern farm-house to the right of the road, beyond which the Appia is cut by a track which leads up to Ariccia on the side towards the viaduct. We are now at the entrance to the lower city, which was also enclosed in walls by Sulla. At the corner, to the left of the road to the village, we see a small section of the city wall, and therefore the modern farm-house must occupy the site of one of the gates. The area of the ancient city contains a number of scattered remains of ancient buildings, but few are of any importance. Some 200 yards farther on, in a field to the left called the Orto di Mezzo, a modern house is built into the considerable remains of an ancient temple. The walls of the cella, of accurate peperino masonry, are preserved almost to the original height. Like the temple at Gabii, which it much resembles, the ends of the back wall projected so as to close the colonnade which ran round the temple. It seems to have had four columns on the front and four on the sides, with a pilaster finishing off the wall at the corner, and is thus an interesting example of a Republican temple of Italic type. Behind it is a cistern, which was probably connected with some considerable ruins a little to the south-east of the temple, which are perhaps some baths of the second or third century A.D.

Returning to the Appia we come to a lurid inn, the Osteriaccia, which is probably built on the site of the first posting station and the caravanserai (*hospitium modicum*), in which Horace passed a first uncomfortable night. The road now bends slightly to the left, avoiding an almost

entirely buried archway, now called the Basto del Diavolo, which was the gate of the city. We then cross a road which leads from the village of Ariccia across the crater to the Anzio road, the general direction of which is certainly ancient but probably crossed the Appia at the Osteriaccia. A little farther on, to the right, is a round building, the Torrione dei Chigi, which is perhaps a late tomb, but may also be a portion of a large building, traces of which can be seen near by.

We now come to the most imposing monument in the district, one of the finest and most impressive specimens of Roman engineering to be seen near Rome, the great causeway by which the Via Appia climbed the steep side of the hill. It is about 200 yards long and has a maximum height of about 34 feet, but height and length were originally much greater; the width of the road at the top is about 24 feet. It is built throughout of blocks of peperino and is pierced by two archways, probably culverts, and a small channel. It is possible to distinguish two, but perhaps not three, epochs in the construction, the earliest one of which would belong to the time of C. Gracchus while the later would be the work of Augustus. The steepness of the ascent rendered it a favourite haunt of beggars, who could pester at their leisure the occupants of the slowly moving vehicles, even as in Rome till a few years ago some beggars would take their stand in Via S. Nicola da Tolentino. Thus the Clivus Aricinus became almost a synonym for beggary, and Martial says of a bad dinner that it was only fit for guests wont to lie on the clivus (*debet Aricino conviva recumbere clivo, quem tua felicem, Zoile, coena facit* (II, xix, 3-4). Valerius Maximus (VIII, ii, 4) mentions that 'in the good old days' a man who had hired a horse to take him from Rome to Aricia was condemned as a thief because he had used it to take him up the ascent instead of leaving it at the post. There are scanty remains of the ancient road beyond this point till it reaches the modern road near the Madonna di Galloro.

After Ariccia the modern Via Appia crosses the ravine over another viaduct, and then, after crossing two more

smaller ones, reaches the important church known as the Madonna di Galloro. The name is simply a corruption of Valloro, but certain men of learning who did not like the obvious have talked about a settlement of the Gauls or the burial here of a golden cock ! A chapel was already in existence here in the fifteenth century, but it only became important after some peasants had discovered, in 1620, on a mass of peperino in the Vallariccia a fresco of the Virgin. This image thrust itself on the notice of the district by immediately beginning to perform numerous miracles. In 1624 the new church was begun by the Capuchin Michele da Bergamo on a spot which had been previously indicated to some labourers by a flash of lightning which appeared on a perfectly fine day and went thrice round the place. In 1633 the fresco was removed from the block and brought to the new church, which was enlarged and decorated by Bernini in 1661. It contains a very interesting collection of ex-votos and accounts of miracles, including a cannon-ball which merely bounced off an Austrian officer at the battle of Velletri in 1744.

A little farther on the road separates into three avenues lined with elms ; the upper one leads to a Capuchin monastery above the lake of Nemi, whence a beautiful path descends to the lake, the central one leads to the Cesarini Palace, and the lower one, the high-road with the tram-line, leads to Genzano. Just at the entrance to the village a road descends sharply to the right ; it runs along the south side of the crater of Vallariccia and reaches the Anzio road at the Cecchina. Though of course considerably longer it is worth using for the return, since the view over the old crater is marvellous (the line of the Appia causeway to the right of Aricia should be noticed).

Genzano is a rich and prosperous village the name of which is derived from an estate of the Gens Cintia. During the Renaissance too learned humanists, knowing the cult of Diana of the lake, derived it from Cynthia, and the inhabitants accepted the etymology by placing the crescents in the civic coat of arms, like the famous *emprise* of Diana of Poitiers. It is not an ancient site, but the upper portion of the town, over the lake, may have been occupied by

villas, of which numerous remains exist in the whole district. It appears to have been an independent centre owned by the monastery of the Tre Fontane, which, however, was unable to maintain its possession, and by the end of the fourteenth century it passed to the Colonna. In 1563 Marcantonio Colonna was obliged to sell it to the Massimo in order to pay the debts contracted for the dowries of his two sisters, and the next year the Massimo sold it to the Cesarini, who built the palace, planted the avenues of elms, and otherwise improved the town. In 1662 the marriage of Livia Cesarini to Federico Sforza, Count of Santaflora, united the names and the estates of the two noble families and founded that of the Sforza-Cesarini, the present lords. Livia was the greatest heiress of her day, and most of the noble families sought her hand with greater ardour than chivalry.

From the square, decorated with a fountain which bears the heraldic emblems of the town, the vine-surrounded column with the crescents, a wide road to the right leads up the hill. It is called the Via Livia, because the ground was given to the community by the lady we have just mentioned. On the feast of Corpus Domini it is covered for its whole length with a mosaic of flowers, the famous Infiorata and one of the most interesting festivals of the Roman Campagna. At the top of the street to the left we find the Cesarini Palace, a fine building on the site of the ancient castle of the abbots. The park, extending down the side of the lake, is very beautiful.

The modern road from Genzano descends gradually, and at one point there is a small but charming view of the lake. Just beyond it the road to Nemi branches off on the left, passing below the hill known as Monte degli Impiccati, from the gallows on which were hung the brigands who infested the neighbouring Macchia della Fajola, which, together with the other section on the slopes of Monte Cavo, once formed a vast forest on this side of the Alban hills and was the famous Nemus Aricinum from which the modern Nemi takes its name. Below Monte degli Impiccati, in the grounds of the Casa Pozzi, are considerable remains of an ancient villa, including a nymphaeum.

Nemi itself is of no great interest, and its history presents no noteworthy episodes. It has at some time or another belonged to almost every notable Roman family, and it was originally one of the Imperial estates granted by Constantine to the diocese of Albano. The castle is a handsome pile that still preserves one of its high towers ; it has been admirably restored by the present owner, Donna Eugenia dei Principi Ruspoli. In one of the rooms the walls are frescoed with a representation of the Austrian encampment before the battle of Velletri in 1744, which is of considerable interest. The chief industry is that of the little wild strawberries which are cultivated all round the lake, but especially in that wide portion of land on the north below the village, formerly a portion of the lake and later the site of the great Temple of Diana.

The cult of Diana Nemorensis has assumed an altogether exaggerated importance through having furnished the first impulse to Sir J. Frazer's monumental studies in anthropology and religion. Probably the earliest centre of the cult of Diana was the temple on the Algidus, which remained in existence till classical times and which is confirmed by the name—Monte Artemisio—for the whole range. The cult maintained, even as late as the time of Pausanias, many of its early barbaric characteristics : the priest was called the rex Nemorensis and was usually a fugitive gladiator or slave who had been able to slay his predecessor after plucking a mistletoe bough from an oak in the Sacred Grove. The twelve volumes of the *Golden Bough* are an attempt to explain the origins of such a custom, which De Sanctis (*Storia*, I, 218) dismisses in a few lines by pointing out that it might naturally arise in a place infested by the worst criminals who were protected by an inviolable right of asylum. The Greeks naturally rationalized the cult, some by connecting it with Orestes, Iphigenia, and the Tauric Artemis, others by ascribing its introduction to Hippolytus, who, being resuscitated by Aesculapius, rather naturally abandoned his charming family and settled in Italy under the name of Virbius. The connexion of Virbius and Hippolytus was probably suggested by the fact that no horses were allowed inside the grove.

The temple formed a great rectangle facing south on the shores of the lake at a spot now called Giardini, where may still be seen a considerable portion of the substructures in *opus incertum* of the time of Sulla. The site was partly and not very scientifically excavated by Sir Saville Lumley (afterwards Lord Saville) when he was British Ambassador in Rome in 1885, and the objects found are scattered in different countries; those that remained in Italy are mostly in the museum of Villa Giulia. Like the sanctuary of Jupiter Latiaris on Monte Cavo, it was probably no large temple, but rather a great enclosure with a number of scattered shrines, one of which was decorated with gilt bronze revetments. Most of the objects found are not earlier than the fifth century B.C. Near the site of the temple is a copious spring (Fontana Tempesta) which gives power to a number of mills. It has been usually identified with the spring of Egeria, the cult of which was certainly connected with that of Diana. It is said that Egeria, on the death of Numa, began pining away from grief, till the goddess took pity on her and turned her into a spring.

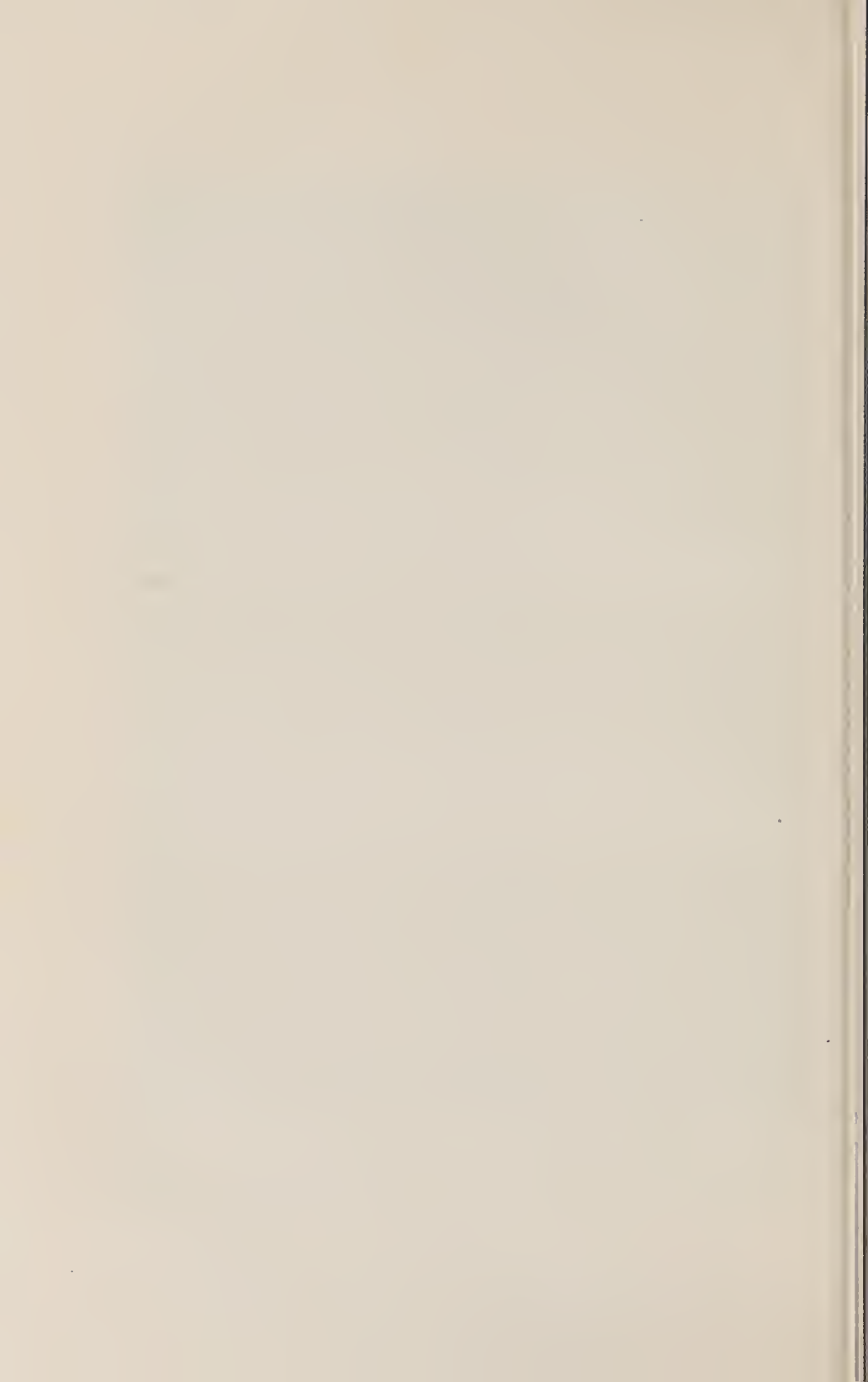
But the lake itself is one of the most beautiful scenes in Italy and in ancient times was often called the 'Mirror of Diana'. It must have been even more beautiful when it was completely surrounded by woods: '*Vallis Aricinae silva praecinctus opaca Est lacus antiqua relligione sacer*' (Ov., Fast., III, 263). But, of ancient and modern poets, Byron perhaps best describes the charm of

The oval mirror of thy glassy lake;
And, calm as cherished hate, its surface wears
A deep cold settled aspect naught can shake
All coiled into itself and round, as sleeps the snake.

Its sleep is now being somewhat rudely disturbed by one of the most difficult excavations ever attempted. Not far from the substructures of the temple, near the cottage on the shores of the lake known as the Casetta dei Pescatori, lie two great Roman barges, sunk deep below the surface of the water in the mud. The existence of these boats or barges has always been known to the local fishermen, and when in 1436 their tale came to the ears of Cardinal



THE LAKE OF NEMI



Prospero Colonna, then lord of Nemi, he commissioned Leon Battista Alberti, the most famous architect of the day, to make an attempt at salvage. Large rafts were constructed and rendered more buoyant by the addition of large barrels; workmen then with hooks and grappling irons fished up parts of the unfortunate boats, a regular lucky dip. Another attempt was made in 1535 by means of some sort of diving apparatus, the actual details of which were kept secret. In 1827 Annesio Fusconi made several descents in Halley's diving-bell, but mistook the place and, working as he did almost below Genzano, the wooden beams he found probably belong to the piles of some villa. In 1895 Eliseo Borghi, an antiquary, made a definite exploration by means of divers. In these excavations many fine beam-heads of bronze, with heads of animals, were discovered and are now in the Terme Museum, together with mosaic pavements and water-pipes bearing the name of Caligula. It was also discovered that the barges are two, the earlier explorers only noticing one. From that time to now there has been a chronic discussion as to the best means of salvage, and innumerable schemes were put forward, some bearing a resemblance to designs for perpetual motion, etc. Finally it was decided that the only practicable solution was to lower the level of the lake by means of pumps, excavate the ships, and then hope that the gentle rain from heaven or the nymph Egeria would soon make good the deficit. As I write the pumps have been installed and the surface of the lake will be reduced by about a half: '*contracta pisces aequora sentiunt*'. The barges, when salvaged and restored, will be kept in a museum on the site. They formed part of a large Imperial villa on this side of the lake; probably the one commenced but never completed by Julius Caesar himself. From the Casetta dei Pescatori a path, which follows the line of an ancient road, leads to Genzano. The level of the lake is maintained constant, like that of Albano, by an emisarium which is probably older than the other and is curiously irregular and twisty.

From Genzano the modern Via Appia keeps high up on the side of the hill and has been built in recent years in

order to carry the tramway to Velletri ; the old posting road of Pius VI leaves Genzano just after the principal square and its first portion corresponds to the ancient Appia. After the descent from the village a track, not suitable to motors, leads south to the foot of a conical hill, called Monte Due Torri from the mediaeval remains on the summit. It is the most conspicuous object in the landscape and on a fine day the view from the summit is wonderful. There are considerable remains of a Roman villa-platform on which the two towers were built ; one of these is now only a stump. It has been suggested that this is the site of the ancient Maecium, a Volscian castle in the territory of Lanuvium which was captured by Camillus in 389 B.C. and from which the tribus Maecia, to which the Lanuvini belonged, took its name, but it seems probable that it was situated to the east of Lanuvium, towards Velletri. In the plain between Monte Due Torri and the height of Lanuvium, close to the foot of the former, are very extensive remains of an ancient villa in brick-faced concrete, perhaps an Imperial property of the Antonines.

Although the old road leads to Lanuvium, it is better to take the modern road to the point where the two almost meet and a signpost indicates the road on the right that joins the lower one. Beyond the signpost is a fine piece of the pavement of the ancient Appia the course of which is very difficult to trace beyond this point. It descended to the posting station sub-Lanuvium and then passed by considerable remains of ancient buildings, including a large cistern known as the Cento Archi, till it reached the modern road just before Cisterna (see p. 93). The short stretch of road leading down to the old post-road is another section of the ancient Appia, and we pass one of the old milestones which has been set up again. We then continue along the old road, which eventually reaches Velletri ; its course is very uneven and it is not in a good state of repair, but it can always be used as an alternative route. We soon turn off to take a beautifully wooded avenue to the right and reach the picturesque square of Lanuvium.

The village was called till a few years ago Civita Lavinia,

a corruption of the variant spelling Lanivium. Then local traditions confirmed the error by identifying the site with Lavinium and the Aeneas legend; especially by pointing out on the south-east tower of the enceinte the ring to which Aeneas made fast his ship, which, in that case, must have been certainly high and dry. Although an ancient Latin city, the history of Lanuvium is strangely uneventful and it is only mentioned as a Roman base of operations against the Volscians. Its chief title to fame was its great sanctuary of Juno Sospita, one of the most curious Italic divinities, whose worship, like that of Diana Nemorensis, preserved right up to the Christian era much of its early barbarity. The image of the Lanuvinian Juno is well known through the description of Cicero, the evidence of the coins, and the great statue in the Vatican Rotunda. The image wore a goat's skin (whence perhaps the name Lanuvium, from *lana*) which was drawn over the head; the left arm carried a small shield while the right hand was raised and clasped a spear; the feet were shod in peculiar shoes with turned-up points. Her cult was closely associated with that of a serpent or dragon and must have been celebrated, in early times at least, by human sacrifice, for near her temple there was a kind of sacred grove and an oracular cave in which dwelt a serpent who had to be propitiated every year with offerings presented by virgins, whose chastity was put to the test.

After the great Latin war it received the Roman citizenship and remained a prosperous municipium, although it suffered considerably during the civil war between Marius and Sulla, while later Octavian seized part of the temple treasury. It was the birthplace of Milo, the rival and murderer of Clodius, and of Antoninus Pius, who had a villa in the neighbourhood in which he frequently resided, a custom continued by Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. During the Middle Ages it seems to have been a free community under the protection of the Church till the fifteenth century, when it came under the dominion of the Colonna, and in 1535 Marcantonio Colonna, captain of the papal galleys and second in command at the battle of Lepanto, was born here. In 1564 it was sold to the Cesarini.

The large square in front of the city is called Piazza Bernini, from the tradition that the celebrated architect designed the handsome fountain, really the work of Carlo Fontana. The great tower is the keep of the enceinte and was used as a prison ; it still preserves the rings for the hoist. The village itself, though containing no monuments of importance, is very picturesque, since nearly all the houses have preserved their mediaeval appearance. Next to the church is the palace in which Marcantonio was born. The visitor should walk right through the village and go out by the Porta Nettunese on the other side, near which he will see the tower with the by no means solid mooring-ring of Aeneas' ship. The roads leading down the hill are ancient, and preserved their pavement, which has recently been covered over. A little farther down, beyond the fountain, is a granary built into the remains of what is perhaps an ancient Temple of Hercules. The return to the square should be made by the road along the west side of the walls, where one can see considerable remains of the stage of the ancient theatre ; the houses on this part of the town are built over the cavea, some portions of which may be seen in their cellars.

From the Piazza Bernini we take the road to the left of the fountain and reach the little garden of the tramway station, which commands a delightful view. Straight in front is Monte Due Torri ; farther down another conical hill, surrounded by a farm-house, is Monte Giove, an ancient site which has been identified on perhaps insufficient evidence with Corioli. From the garden one enters the grounds of the Villa Sforza through a somewhat pretentious brick gateway. At the top of the drive we find some reconstructed arches of a very long arcade decorated with half columns in reticulated work and courses of brick. The hill behind was undoubtedly the acropolis of the city, but when the fortifications were no longer necessary this portico was built to decorate the west side. On the south, towards the villa, it turned so as to form a handsome approach to the enceinte. A large construction of tufa masonry, now much overgrown, which projects from the modern boundary wall was long thought to be the platform

of a temple but has been recently proved to be a bastion defending the gate to the citadel, since the modern lane follows the line of the ancient road. Farther up the hill, in the same grounds, is a very large reservoir, the front of which formed a nymphæum decorated with niches. On the other side of the lane are the foundations of a temple, partly excavated in 1884-90 by the late Lord Saville, who thought that it was the Temple of Juno Sospita. The fine terra-cotta revetments of the entablature which were found at that time are now exhibited in the British Museum. More recent excavations have completely uncovered the foundations of the temple, which has been proved to have been of the Italic type. The cella was divided into three sections, two of which are still perfectly clear, while the other, which was built almost on the wall of the acropolis, has fallen down. The temple is thus proved to have been dedicated to the Capitoline deities, but the site of the more famous Temple of Juno Sospita is still unknown.

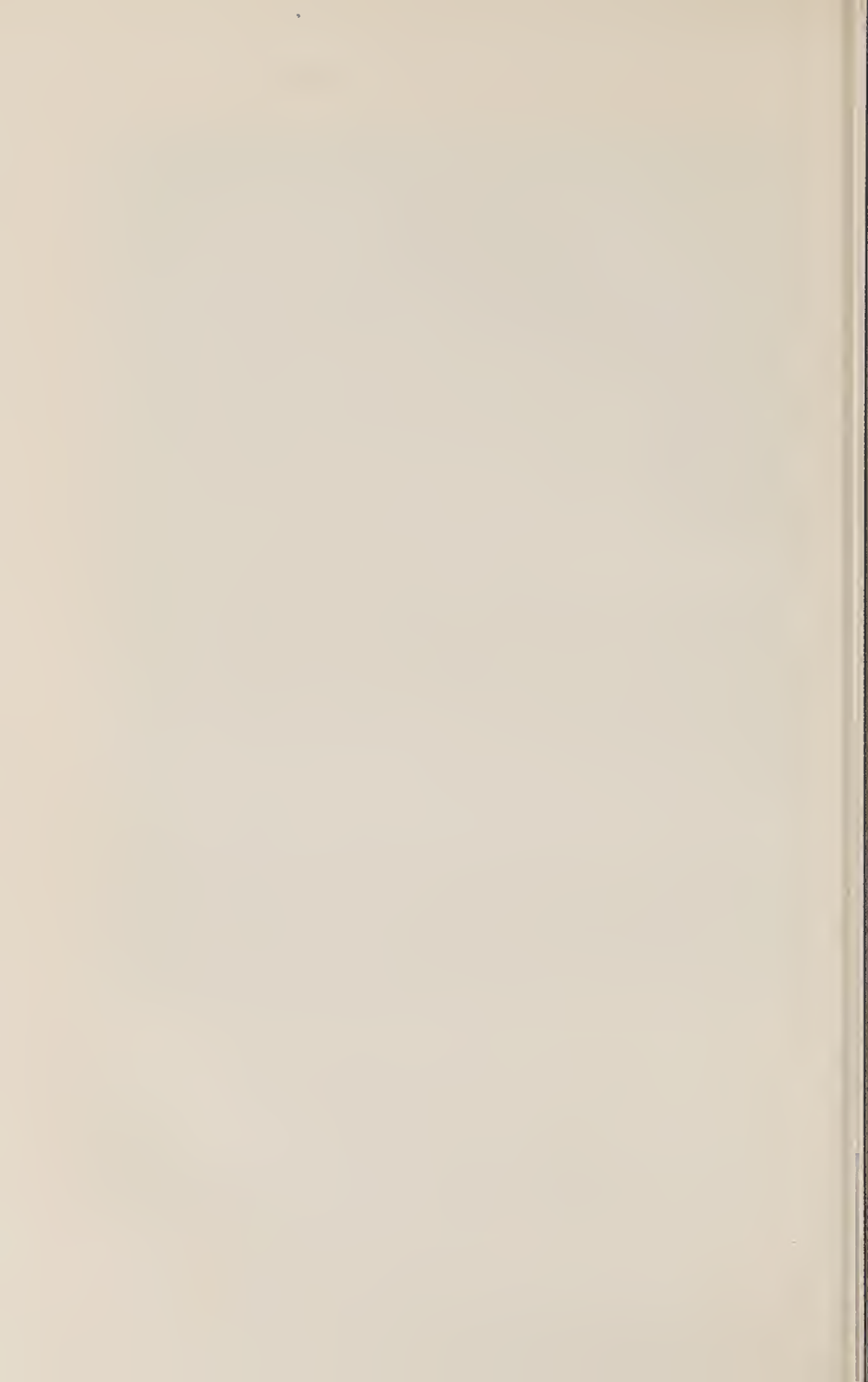
The high road from Genzano to Velletri is of little interest except for the fine view over the Pontine marshes and the Monti Lepini, especially towards sunset. We pass the portion of the pavement of the Via Appia which we have mentioned above, and farther on some remains of an ancient building, and reach the entrance to Velletri, one of the most important towns of the Roman province. It is the ancient Velitrae, a Volscian town that retained its speech till comparatively late times; its Volscian name was Velester, and it was governed by two *meddices*, an Italic magistracy. In order to reduce it a colony was deducted from Rome, but for a long time it was inclined to give trouble. Even under the Empire it maintained its importance; the Octavii—the family of Augustus—came from here. It had an amphitheatre which was in use as late as the end of the fourth century. The first known bishop is of 465, and the diocese increased in importance by the incorporation of the still earlier one of the Tres Tabernæ. It seems to have always been a free community, but it suffered considerably during the barbarian invasions. From 1058-72 the bishopric was held by S. Peter Damian, who introduced much-needed reforms. In 1222 it was visited by S. Francis,

who miraculously cured the vineyards, which were suffering from an epidemic. From the middle of the thirteenth century till 1463 Velletri was in a constant state of guerrilla warfare, first with the Annibaldi and later with the Colonna, about the Castle of Lariano (p. 164), which was finally dismantled. During the fourteenth century Rome tried to obtain the direct government of the city, which finally passed under the authority of the Pope. In 1744 a great battle was fought in the plain below Velletri between the Austrian troops and the Hispano-Neapolitan army of Charles III. The Austrians were completely defeated and obliged to withdraw, thus ending a campaign that was one of the side-shows of the War of the Austrian Succession. In 1849 the very same district was the scene of the defeat of the Neapolitan troops by the volunteers of the Roman Republic led by Rosselli.

On entering the town from the Via Appia the main street leads to the great Campanile del Trivio, one of the finest in Latium. It is over 150 feet high and was built in 1353. In the square on the left is the entrance to the magnificent Palazzo Ginnetti-Lancellotti, built by Martino Longhi for Cardinal Marzio Ginnetti, who died in 1671. It has never been completed and is disgracefully left in a state of semi-ruin, but it contains one of the finest staircases in Italy. The view from the terraces is also charming. The older part of the city is round the ancient acropolis, where is the Municipal Palace, which contains a small collection of local antiquities. In the streets are a number of interesting old houses, and one can occasionally see the Stuart coat of arms, since the Cardinal of York was for a short time Bishop of Velletri. At the other end of the town is the cathedral, dedicated to S. Clement; it has no façade and consequently is by no means easy to find. The foundation of the church is very early, but it was entirely rebuilt towards the end of the thirteenth century and in 1658-60. The ceiling of the nave is fine, and the ciborium of the high altar supports a good Cosmatesque shrine for the relics. There is a fine altar-piece by Antoniazzo Romano, one of the best works of this master, and magnificent choir stalls of the second half of the sixteenth



VELLETRI : PALAZZO GINETTI



century ; also the late Roman sarcophagus of S. Gesualdus and the interesting font formed by a Pagan urn with reliefs of Cupid and Psyche. The Turkish flag was captured by a citizen of the town. The crypt is very interesting, and is probably part of the earlier church ; it contains a thirteenth-century fresco representing the translation of the bodies of SS. Pontianus and Eleutherius, which took place in 1254. The museum in the chapter house possesses some remarkable treasures : the famous Crux Veliterna, said to have been given by Pope Alexander IV, with beautiful Byzantine enamels of the ninth century (the setting is somewhat later), fragments of an exultet with miniatures of the beginning of the twelfth century, and fine embroideries from the vestments of Pope Benedict XI (*d.* 1304).

There are some remains of a large Roman villa at S. Cesareo, near Velletri. The mediaeval and modern name of the site shows that it was once Imperial property, and it may perhaps have been the estate of the Octavii. Most of the present remains are of the second century A.D., but there are some traces of the Republican villa.

CHAPTER V

THE TOWNS OF THE PONTINE MARSHES

. . . *pestifera Pomptini uligine campi.*

—SIL. ITAL., VIII, 379

THE Pontine marshes are a great plain once occupied entirely by the sea and even now only a few feet above the sea-level. To the east it is bordered by a magnificent chain of hills—the Monti Lepini—on which are perched the towns of the Volscians, those obstinate enemies of early Rome. Yet, although the hill-towns were prosperous, the vast plain at their feet was uncultivated and deserted. Many attempts have been made throughout the centuries to reclaim all this land, and none has been wholly successful. The first was by Cornelius Cethegus in 160 B.C., who probably began the long canal parallel to the Appia which has formed the basis of all subsequent schemes. The complete drainage of the marshes was one of Caesar's projects, which may have been partly carried out by Augustus. But both Horace and Juvenal depict the plain as deserted, the refuge of bandits and outlaws. Trajan did considerable work, but by raising the level of the road he may have actually increased the stagnation of the waters. Again, under the Gothic domination Theodoric cleared the channels, and we find the plain given over to grazing, much as it is now. But in the anarchy that followed the Greek conquest the canals silted up and conditions grew steadily worse. The popes of the Middle Ages were fully aware of the importance of the problem, but the first attempt to deal with it seriously was that of Leo X. But it was not till Pius VI was elected in 1775 that the problem was attacked on a very large scale and with a considerable measure of success by completing the old Roman canal—called the Decennovium, because it was nineteen miles long—now the Linea Pia. Drainage channels discharge their waters into it at every mile on

either side. Unfortunately the work was never properly finished owing to the French Revolution. In classical times the principal problem was to reclaim land for cultivation; malaria, if indeed it existed, was certainly not very serious. The former problem has now been solved, and the visitor motoring along the Via Appia passes through a well-cultivated country, in many ways reminiscent of Lombardy. But malaria is still serious, since the waters in the canals themselves only move very slowly. Attempts have recently been made to cut outlets for the water through the ridge of pine-covered sand-dunes that fringe the coast. The journey from Rome to Terracina is of the greatest interest from the contrast between the flat plain and the magnificent hills, while the towns and villages on these hills contain many monuments of the greatest importance and preserve to a large extent unspoiled their mediaeval appearance. They can all be easily reached by car from Rome, or by the useful but incredibly slow and deliberate little railway that runs to Terracina. A few of the places can also be more comfortably visited from the new Naples railway.

CORI

*Whence Cora's sentinels o'erlook
The never-ending fen.*

—MACAULAY

To reach Cori we do not descend from Velletri into the Paludi Pontine; on arriving at the town by the Appia Nuova we do not enter it, but take the Via Ariana to the left. We pass in front of the cemetery and at once take a rather narrow road on the right, descending gradually into the wide valley that separates the Alban hills from the Monti Lepini. We cross the railway several times and, at rather less than ten kilometres from Velletri, reach the small village of Giulianello, a name perhaps derived from a Fundus Julianus. In the Middle Ages it was a place of considerable importance, and was under the direct dominion

of the Holy See, but was granted by Innocent III to the Conti of Segni, from whom in the sixteenth century it passed by marriage to the Salviati. The Salviati built the palace and the large and handsome church, but during the eighteenth century it was almost entirely abandoned owing to malaria. The estate recently passed to the Borghese, who have improved its conditions very considerably, especially by draining a small lake in the neighbourhood. A road to the left leads to Artena (p. 164), and, just after the railway crossing, a branch to the right goes up to the lofty Rocca Massima, the very hypothetical site of the Arx Cerventana, with considerable remains of polygonal walls.

The road to Cori continues along the slopes of the Lepini and, crossing the railway, ascends by easy gradients to the lower part of Cori. Just before the bridge into the town a road on the left leads past the Church of S. Francesco up to Cori Alto, but it is much more interesting to walk up to the temple through the town itself and descend by car. The inn—'Dei Lepini'—at the entrance to the upper village, is quite tolerable.

CORI, the ancient Cora, is variously stated to have been founded by no less a person than Dardanus or by Coras, the brother of that Tiburtus who founded Tibur. Others consider it a colony of Alba Longa, but as far as we can judge it was one of the chief outposts against the Volscians. It then became a Roman colony and was probably strongly fortified some time in the fifth-fourth centuries, together with Norba (see p. 94). It was captured and sacked by Marius, but was extensively rebuilt and refortified by Sulla, and the first century B.C. seems to have been the period of its greatest prosperity. During the Empire it is hardly mentioned by historians, and there are hardly any monumental remains, so its history is a complete blank till the thirteenth century, when it is a direct dependency of Rome, and most of the mediaeval houses are of this date.

If its history is uneventful its monuments are of the greatest interest. It is built on a pyramidal hill of great natural strength, the triangle which it forms being surrounded on all sides by precipitous ravines, except at the

apex, near the citadel. It presents no well-defined acropolis, but has always been divided into Cori Alto and Cori Basso, which still continue a centuries-old feud.

Whether we come by rail or by car we enter the city by the Porta Romana, now demolished, which, however, does not seem to have been an ancient gate. The round tower of the handsome palace on the right incorporates part of a tower of the time of Sulla, and another well-preserved one of the same date can be seen farther down on the right. Immediately to the left, inside the town, is the large Collegiata, built on a Roman platform of *opus quadratum*, which may be seen on the side. It contains a most interesting paschal candlestick of the twelfth century, the earliest one known, obviously imitated from some Saracenic or Eastern metal candelabrum. We cross the main square of the lower town and take the narrow level street to the left of the *caffé*. We pass on the left some very large arcades of a building in Sullan *opus incertum*, which was certainly a reservoir, a portion is still used as such, while other chambers are now occupied by oil-presses. We keep straight on right through the town and reach the Porta Ninfesina; to the left a large house has been built on the foundations of the wall and a street passes below it in a kind of picturesque tunnel, lit by numerous arcades. We go out of the gate and cross the ravine over a most interesting bridge, the Ponte della Catena, which is certainly of Sullan date. It is well worth while to walk a little farther in order to admire the effect of the city with its two temples and numerous polygonal terraces. The outer polygonal enceinte is built of very rough blocks and can be traced throughout; a large bastion guards the Porta Ninfesina, which certainly corresponds to an ancient gateway.

We retrace our steps by the same road to the Sullan cisterns, and there we take the narrow street up the side of the reservoir and, turning at once to the left, find ourselves in the square formed by the vaults of the cisterns, whence its name Pizzitonico, a curious corruption of Pozzo Dorico. Here we see a magnificent specimen of rough polygonal walling, some of the limestone blocks being of very great size. It should not be imagined,

however, that this system of building is of fabulous antiquity; it is the natural way to build when the local material is limestone, which does not fracture easily in straight lines; none of these walls can possibly be earlier than the fifth century, and many may be considerably later. The wall at this spot is not a fortification but a supporting wall for what was evidently one of the most important portions of the city. From the square it is easy to see the columns of the Temple of Castor in front of the church above.

By a steep alley to the left we reach the *Via delle Colonnnette*, which runs parallel to the supporting wall and probably corresponds to an ancient street. We turn to the right and reach the *Piazza del Salvatore*, in which stands two columns of the ancient Temple of Castor. It is one of the finest specimens of Corinthian architecture of the time of the Republic and shows considerable advance on that of Vesta at Tivoli. The columns were originally coated with stucco. Considerable remains of the temple still exist in the houses which have been built over it, but they are very difficult to see. The plan seems to have followed that of the old Italic temples like *Aricia* and *Gabii*. We return along *Via delle Colonnnette*, the houses of which are all built on ancient remains and largely of ancient material. In the cellar of the house to the right, almost opposite the side of the church, are considerable remains of a public building which bears some resemblance to those at Palestrina. At the end of the street is *Piazza Montagna*, which is supported by another great polygonal wall, the continuation of the one in *Pizzittonico*, which we can see by descending a little way down the *Via Pelasga* on the right.

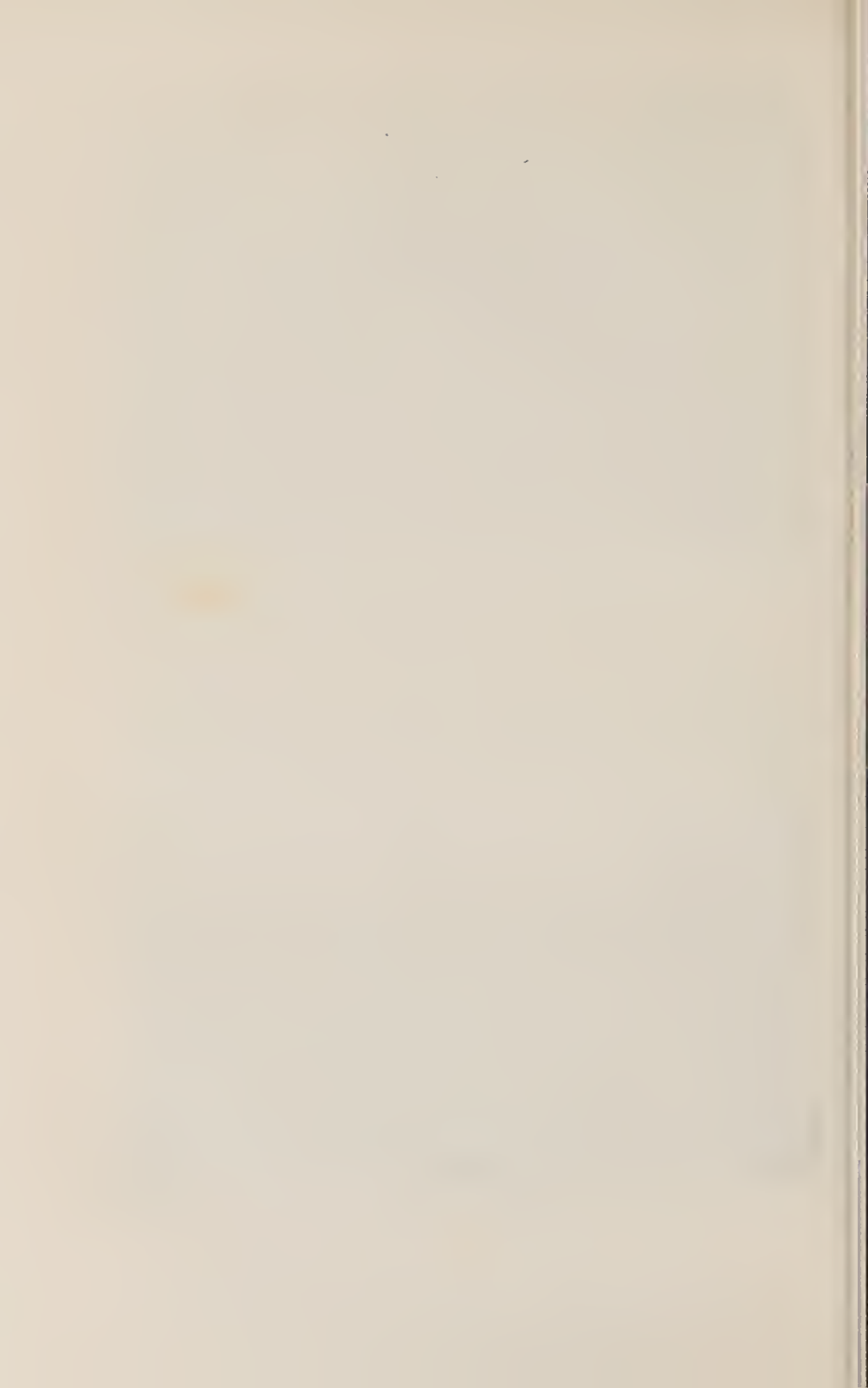
We now begin to go up the hill by this *Via Pelasga*, which crosses most, though by no means all, the remains of antiquity. Where it passes under the modern carriage road there is another considerable section of the ancient polygonal terrace wall in rather more regular blocks. We finally reach the Church of *S. Oliva* at the union of the two sections of the city. It is dominated by the most impressive monument in *Cori*, the great bastion known as the *Palazzo di Pilato*. It is a very curious z-shaped bastion which was



CORI: POLYGONAL WALLS AND TEMPLE OF CASTOR



NINFA (p. 93)



added in front of a straight polygonal retaining wall; curiously enough, the blocks on one side have been carefully smoothed while those on the other have been left rough. It is difficult to understand the purpose of such a construction, since it cannot be either a retaining wall or the platform of a temple, and we are reduced to suppose that it was really part of the defences. The surroundings have been much altered by the construction of the carriage road and by the war memorial. The Church of S. Oliva is double, the smaller church with its fine campanile being built over the remains of another temple. The Renaissance cloister next to it is the finest Christian monument in the town and contains a number of classical sculptures and inscriptions. The churches themselves are of little interest. The larger one has some very poor frescoes of the first half of the sixteenth century, while the other is curious from the use of ancient columns and pilasters. In the little square in front of the Municipio are some remains of *opus incertum* walls which belong to a small villa or house that was found here.

We ascend by the steps at the side of the polygonal bastion and come again to the carriage road, into which we turn. After a few yards we come to another magnificent wall of polygonal masonry, which is here left rough and has three drainage channels in it. This wall is clearly the supporting wall for the road which still passes above it. We can take this road to the Temple of Hercules, and, just where the houses begin, we see more remains of walls, probably supporting walls. We soon reach the main square of the upper town, with the Church of S. Peter and the beautiful remains of the Temple of Hercules. This temple is of the time of Sulla and is the most perfect specimen of what is known as Italic Doric. The columns are thin and high, and very widely spaced; the shafts are plain for one-third of the height. One of the strangest peculiarities about the temple is that the entablature is distinctly curved and is concave externally, as may easily be seen by anyone who looks up at it from below. It is supposed to have been an experiment at producing an optical illusion of a straight line, counteracting the slight tendency to

distortion natural to the eye. The temple is built on a very large artificial platform faced with Sullan *opus incertum* and with masonry corners ; it is therefore natural to suppose that there was more than one temple here, but there is no definite evidence to connect it with a capitolium and the traditional name, Tempio d'Ercole, is absolutely unsupported. The view from the garden in front of it is magnificent on a fine day. Inside the church a beautiful Augustan altar is used as a font.

We can descend from the temple to the Porta Veliterna at the end of the carriage road. There is now no trace of the mediaeval gateway, but there was certainly one here even in classical times, since it is the only easy access to the city. The polygonal walls of the city can be traced by the remains in the houses and were reinforced by Sulla with fine round towers. The best-preserved example is the one to be seen within the garden of the Albergo dei Lepini. A very steep mountain-path leads from here to Segni ; another, also following an ancient line, to Norba. We must return by the carriage road, and those who wish to go on to Ninfa must go to Cisterna, taking the station road from the Porta Romana and keeping to the left at the fork. A few hundred yards before reaching the fork we find on the right the interesting little oratory of the Annunziata, with some curious frescoes by a distant follower of Masolino da Panicale.

NINFA, NORBA, AND SERMONETA

hinc vasta palus, hinc ardua moenia cingunt.

—VIRGIL, *Aeneid*, XII, 745

This is one of the most interesting excursions from Rome, combining as it does beauties of nature, imposing classical remains, mediaeval ruins, and a wonderful church and castle. They are all easily accessible by railway, but it is not easy to do them all in a day without a car. Arriving at Velletri by the Appia Nuova we pass through the town and descend at once into the plain. The road runs along

almost perfectly straight for about five miles and then turns to the left along the line of the ancient Appia, the cuttings of which can be seen in the fields to the left of the road. The Casale delle Castella is extensively built from the paving stones of the ancient road, and occupies an important road centre of antiquity which might be the famous Tres Tabernae of the Acts. Soon we reach the large village of Cisterna, so called from some reservoirs of Nero. It does not appear to have been an ancient site, and is certainly not Tres Tabernae, the name of which it would have preserved. It probably grew up during the Middle Ages, when it was a place of considerable importance. At the end of the fifteenth century it came into the hands of the Caetani, who have held it ever since ; it contains little of interest, but its prosperity is rapidly increasing. From Cisterna a road on the left leads to Cori and one on the right to Conca, the ancient Satricum (see p. 24). We pass under the Naples railway, and after a couple of turns we return to the line of the Appia that now runs absolutely straight for twenty-five miles to Terracina. The first road on the left in five miles leads to Ninfa.

Ninfa, the mediaeval Pompeii, as it was called with some exaggeration by Gregorovius, is a mediaeval foundation on the site of an ancient temple of the Nymphs who gave their name to the neighbouring stream—the Nymphaeus—which was worshipped by the inhabitants of Norba. The territory belonged to the emperor, and Constantine V gave it and Norba to Pope Zaccarias in about 750 ; it was later strongly fortified against the Saracens, and was occupied by the Counts of Tusculum who also ruled the whole coast-line. At the beginning of the twelfth century it was a free military community, but it was soon granted to the Frangipane. Towards the end of the thirteenth century the Colonna made an attempt to occupy it, but were forced to yield it to the Caetani, who built most of the existing buildings and still own it. It was only abandoned between 1675–80.

The ruins themselves are wonderfully picturesque, especially during the spring, but are of no very great archaeological interest. The circuit of the walls still

preserves a number of the original square towers. The stream runs right through the village, and one of the old bridges still exists. The principal tower is very fine and reflects itself beautifully in the waters of the little lake ; near it one of the houses, with fine Gothic windows, has been restored as a residence by the present owner, Don Gelasio Caetani. The principal church was the Collegiata S. Maria, the apse of which, with remains of early frescoes, is still standing ; in it Alexander III, who had been obliged to escape from Rome after his election, was crowned in 1159. The prosperity of the district is increasing in consequence of the activity of its noble owner ; the Nymphaeus now furnishes light and power to the neighbouring villages, the ruined city is turned into a delightful garden producing excellent honey, and the very rocks of the mountain are now being quarried for lime.

To reach Norba the road crosses the railway and, taking the first turning on the left, it ascends the precipitous side of the hill above Ninfa in a series of far-flung hair-pin bends. The ancient road, which was supported by great polygonal substructions, ran on a very similar line, but was, of course, much steeper. On reaching the top of the hill it is not necessary to enter the uninteresting village of Norma, but by taking a path to the left we soon reach the heights of the hill, crowned by the extraordinarily imposing walls of Norba.

Norba was founded in 492 B.C. as a Roman military colony in order to dominate both the Pontine marshes and the country of the Volscians. The tradition has been confirmed by excavations conducted in 1901, when it was proved that the walls, claimed by some authorities to be of fabulous antiquity, were certainly not earlier than the fifth century, and that the town itself was poor and simple, a military outpost rather than a trading centre. It remained constantly faithful to Rome, and its fortifications obviously made it impregnable. During the civil wars between Marius and Sulla it strongly supported the cause of the former and resisted even after the fall of Praeneste and the death of the younger Marius. But at last Aemilius Lepidus, who was besieging it, gained admission through

treachery, whereupon some of the defenders killed themselves, whilst others set fire to the town, which was so effectually destroyed that no plunder was obtained. After this disaster the city was never rebuilt.

The magnificent walls are perfectly preserved throughout, but are naturally less massive on the south-west, where the precipitous slopes of the cliff render any attack almost impossible. The finest stretch is the great bastion and doorway on the side facing Norma, which seems to have been a later addition, and the whole eastern side, with its great towers, some of which are in excellent condition. The size of the blocks is amazing, and they are very carefully fitted together. Within the enceinte are numerous traces of the buildings, and on the summit nearest the great gate the excavations have laid bare the foundations of several temples and their approach. No one should omit going to the south-west cliffs in order to enjoy what is one of the finest views in this part of Italy. The rock is almost perfectly sheer, and the view over the flat plain is exactly like one from an aeroplane, the appearance of Ninfa by its lake being particularly interesting.

Descending to the fork with the road from the Ninfa station, we continue it a little farther and, after crossing a slight valley, we come to another fork at the Abbey of Valvisciolo. The church was built in 1240 by Cistercian monks from Fossanova (see p. 97) and is a well-preserved example of one of the smaller churches of this style. It has no transept nor lantern, and the apses are square. The architecture is very simple and there is little attempt at ornamentation, but it is very effective. There are considerable remains of the monastery, including a beautiful cloister. On the slopes of the hill behind the abbey are a number of platforms of polygonal masonry, very like those at Palombara (see p. 276). They are probably terraces built to hold the soil for cultivation; the idea that they are substructions for roads is untenable, and it seems to me most unlikely that they are the site of prehistoric villages.

The road to the left runs up the valley, and then, turning to the right, reaches Bassiano, the birthplace of that famous

humanist and typographer Aldus Manutius the elder, a village with a few unimportant mediaeval remains. The road reaches the high-road just above Sezze, a village occupying the site of the Volscian Setia Pometia. Sezze can also be reached direct from the Appia and, most conveniently, by the Naples express. There are considerable remains of the city walls, while the cathedral is a strange mixture of incongruous styles, with Cistercian Gothic predominating. From Sezze it is possible to return to Rome by Roccagorga dei Volsci and Carpineto (birthplace of Leo XIII, with some mediaeval churches), reaching the Casilina below Segni. Though of course much longer than the Appia, most travellers will prefer to return this way after visiting Sermoneta, thus avoiding the monotony of the Appia. If they want to omit Sezze, which is hardly worth a visit, it is only necessary after Bassiano to keep always to the left.

A little beyond Valvisciolo lies Sermoneta, the great castle and duchy of the Caetani. It has been in possession of that family since 1297, except for some years at the end of the fifteenth century, when Alexander VI gave it first to Lucrezia and then to his son Caesar, who built a considerable portion of the fortification. The castle is the finest in Latium—indeed, with Bracciano, the finest in the Campagna—and has been extensively restored. It is better to obtain permission to view the interior from the Caetani Palace in Rome in Via delle Botteghe Oscure. The numerous churches in the village are nearly all derived from Fossanova, but have been much restored and modernized. It is impossible by car to continue along the slopes of the Lepini, and, unless the Bassiano road is taken, one must return by the same way one came.



THE ABBEY OF FOSSANOVA (*p.* 97)



THE ABBEY OF FOSSANOVA

*Occidit hic Thomas, lux et fax amplior Orbi,
 Et candelabrum sic Nova Fossa foret :
 Editus ardenti locus est, non fossa lucerna,
 Hanc igitur Fossam, quis neget esse Novam ?*

—EPITAPH OF S. THOMAS

The Abbey of Fossanova is one of the most important monuments in central Italy, and the direct parent of Tuscan Gothic. The glory of Siena is derived from here through S. Galgano, and the various buildings which this famous monastery has influenced are legion. The isolated and almost abandoned abbey has an extraordinary if somewhat melancholy beauty and charm, and in the deserted cloister we may fancy hearing the steps of S. Thomas Aquinas, who died here in 1274 while on his way from Naples to the General Council at Lyons. It is best visited after Terracina, and I shall therefore describe the Appia from Cisterna to Terracina in the next section of this chapter.

Here, where the *Amasenus abundans* of Virgil descends from the hills to loose itself in the marshes, there had always been a Benedictine monastery, from which Gregory IV in 827 rose to the Throne of S. Peter. It then experienced a period of decadence, probably due to the Saracen and Norman invasions, till in 1133 it was granted to French Cistercians from Clairvaux. Their first act was to improve the conditions of the district by regulating the flow of the Amasenus and of the Ufens, for which they dug a great canal known as Fossa Nova. In 1187 they began the construction of the church which was consecrated by Innocent III in 1208. It is the first example in Italy of Cistercian Gothic, a style evolved in Burgundy from the Romanesque and retaining its severity and simplicity. Although the church is very probably the actual work of French architects, we can already see certain particular modifications to suit the Italian taste.

The exterior of the church is very simple, with a single door and a great rose window. The portico in front of the church has unfortunately been destroyed, while the decoration of the door itself shows the influence of the

Roman Cosmatesque. The interior is impressive, though bare; the great width and height of the nave compared to that of the aisles is striking. In front of the altar is a slab with some depressions in it supposed to have been made by the mule of S. Thomas, perhaps when loaded by the tomes of the *Summa*. From the transept we pass to the beautiful cloister, three sides of which are pure Romanesque and very similar to the Roman cloisters, while the fourth, with the pavilion for the fountain, was built after 1280 in Gothic style but with the help of Roman decorators. Opening on the cloister are the chapter-house, built in 1250 in far more elegant Gothic, probably by younger monks from France, and the great refectory with a wooden roof. Most of the other monastic buildings have perished, but, in a separate block, the room where S. Thomas is supposed to have died is still shown, and another vast hall like the refectory.

From Fossanova the road leads on to Piperno, a city which has taken the place of the Volscian town of Privernum. It preserves to a very considerable extent its mediaeval appearance and seems to have produced an extraordinary number of architects who diffused the Cistercian Gothic through the Roman province. The churches are nearly all in this style. The road that passes by the station leads in about a mile to the extensive ruins of the ancient city, whence it is possible to return to Rome either by the road which leads straight on to Maenza and Carpineto, or the much longer route to the right by Ceccano and Frosinone.

TERRACINA

Impositum saxi late candentibus Anxur.

—HOR., Serm. I, v, 26

*O nemus, O fontes, solidumque madentis arenae**Litus, et aequoreis splendidus Anxur aquis.*

—MART., Epi. X, li, 7

scopulosi verticis Anxur.

—SIL. ITAL. VIII, 392

After Cisterna the Via Appia runs perfectly straight for nearly fifty kilometres through the Pontine marshes. The effect of this absolutely straight road, the longest in Italy, with elms on either side and on the right the canal of the Linea Pia, is very impressive and fascinating. The fields are partly cultivated, partly used as pasturage for great droves of horses, oxen, and buffaloes. Of human habitations there are practically none, except a few inns along the road, but the district seems well cultivated and more prosperous than it really is. After a road to the right, which leads to the Lake of Fogliano, where there is excellent fishing and the remains of a Roman villa, we come to Tor Tre Ponti, on the site of the ancient posting station Trepontium, with some ancient remains; the bridge over the Ninfa about half a mile farther on is of the time of Trajan. We now begin to see the complicated network of drainage channels that cut the marshes like a chessboard. We reach a few houses at Foro Appio, the ancient station of Forum Appii, '*disertum nautis cauponibus atque malignis*', where Horace passed his second night from Rome; travellers usually went from here to Terracina by barge on the canal. A road on the left leads to Sezze (p. 96), passing considerable remains of the ancient city on the way. Then comes another long and deserted stretch to the Posta di Mesa, a large building on the left, with the remains of a Roman tomb and two milestones of Trajan, who extensively repaired the road. Some miles farther on is the road to Fossanova and Piperno, and then, as we approach the hills, we pass the lowest portion of the marshes, not a couple of feet above the sea-level, with the

waters of the Ufens and the Amasenus. We reach the hills at the Punta di Leano, where was the spring and shrine of Feronia. The ancient Appia now turned a little to the left and ran more or less parallel to the railway. It is well preserved and passes a number of important monuments; ancient remains in the valley to the left, between the Punta di Leano and Monte S. Angelo, are extraordinarily numerous, the most imposing being the great terraces of a villa at Monticchio. The railway and the ancient Appia go directly to the Porta Romana of the mediaeval city of Terracina; the Appia Nuova enters the lower portion of the town, built by Pius VI over the ruins of the Imperial City.

The town of Terracina was an important Volscian city which was called Anxur by the Volscians and Tarracina by the Romans. Its position rendered it one of the most important cities of the coast, and it was considered the Thermopylae of central Italy. It was captured by Rome in 406 B.C., but frequently rebelled till a colony was stationed here in 329 B.C. It was almost entirely rebuilt by Sulla, who made Monte S. Angelo the acropolis, and fortified it strongly. Under the Empire it seems to have had considerable prosperity, so much so that portions of Petronius's famous novel are thought by some to have been staged here, and Trimalchio is supposed to be a caricature of Galba, afterwards emperor, whose birthplace it was. A renewal of building activity took place under Trajan, who made the Appia pass straight through the lower town, and also under the Severi, who built the Via Severiana along the coast. It was already a bishopric in A.D. 313 and was probably restored by Theodoric. The walls may have been again repaired by Belisarius. The city was destroyed during the Saracen invasion of 846, but was rebuilt during the tenth century, and later, notwithstanding constant struggles with the Frangipane lords of Astura, with the Caetani of Fondi, and with the King of Naples, it was decorated with numerous fine buildings. In 1499 it came under the direct rule of the Holy See and formed the chief bulwark on the southern frontier of the Papal States. But the inroads of malaria caused it to decay, till Pius VI,

by draining the marshes, gave it a new period of prosperity and extended the city over the flat ground along the coast.

The Via Appia now runs right through the lower part of the city below the mediaeval enceinte and the Monte S. Angelo. Formerly the road did not run along the coast, but was forced to climb into the hills behind the mountain, where it is still well preserved, flanked throughout by the remains of tombs. Trajan, in correcting the line of the road, cut right through the Pesco Montano, a rocky spur that projected into the sea, and thus allowed the road to run along the coast to Fondi. If we go straight through the modern town to the Naples gate we can see the great cutting; on the rock face are a number of figures which give the depth of the excavation in Roman feet, the lowest one being CXX.

Returning along the Corso Umberto we come to the semicircular Piazza Garibaldi, with the Church of S. Salvatore, built by the Bolognese Antonio Sarti, a singularly fine example of the neo-classic style adapted to an ecclesiastical building. In the same square, at No. 15, is the interesting Museo Civico, chiefly composed of local antiquities and of the curious exvotos found during the excavations on the Monte S. Angelo. Of the marbles the most interesting is a Trajanic relief showing the construction of the lighthouse. The remains of the port itself, or rather of the eastern mole, are considerable, but have been entirely silted up, the modern port being built outside it. There are also extensive and important remains of *thermae* beyond the Corso della Vittoria, close to the scanty ruins of a small amphitheatre.

Few towns can boast of as numerous and as important monuments, both Roman and mediaeval, as Terracina, and we can only notice the principal ones. From S. Salvatore the Strada dell' Annunziata leads to the ancient city. On the right is the great bastion of S. Francesco, probably part of the earliest acropolis, and, after passing many classical and mediaeval remains, we reach the square in front of the cathedral. This is the ancient Forum and still preserves its original pavement, which was

laid down, as may be read on the inscription on the pavement itself, by a certain A. Aemilius A. F. probably in the reign of Tiberius.

The cathedral is built on the ruins of an ancient temple, which cannot be identified. A considerable portion of the decoration of the sides and back still exists, including one of the corner columns and part of the frieze that ran along the lower part of the walls. The style of the decoration is of the time of Tiberius. The church itself was consecrated by Pope Gregory VII in 1074, extensively decorated in the thirteenth century, and partly rebuilt in the seventeenth century. The Campanile shows a characteristic mingling of the forms of Roman art with the more Arab tendencies of the Campanian artists. The architrave of the portico has a very curious mosaic frieze by an artist of the school of Vassallettus, with scenes from the Crusades. In the interior the pavement is very interesting, although the order of the various slabs has been rearranged. The pulpit and the paschal candlestick of 1245 also show the Cosmatesque style, contaminated by Campanian influence. The ciboria at the end of either aisle are fine although much restored. There is also a curious painting (perhaps by Antonio da Alatri) of the thirteenth century, but the famous Terracina chest, formerly in the sacristy, is now in the Museum of Palazzo Venezia in Rome.

The numerous mediaeval houses in Terracina render it almost as picturesque as Viterbo or some of the smaller towns of Tuscany; in Corso Regina Elena, opposite the side of the cathedral, are some remains of a temple, probably the Capitolium, while the Porta Romana, by which the Via Appia entered the town, preserves a part of the ancient walls. The Church of S. Francesco above the town on the site of the earliest acropolis, is partly built over an immense masonry terrace that probably supported a Temple of Minerva.

No one should omit the somewhat fatiguing climb up to the summit of Monte S. Angelo, if only for the view. One first goes along the early Via Appia before its correction by Trajan, and passes a number of ancient ruins. Then, by walking along the ancient walls of the time of Sulla, one

reaches the summit and the vast platform that supported the Temple of Jupiter Puer, the Child. Of the temple itself only the foundations exist, but the substructures, traditionally called the Palace of Theodoric, are among the most magnificent examples of Sullan construction. The discovery of a number of models of toys, now in the museum, definitely proved the attribution of the temple.

From Terracina one can easily drive to S. Felice Circeo and climb the famous promontory of Circe. It is chiefly interesting for the incomparable view along the whole of the coast and the mountains of the interior and for the legendary and historical associations. There are considerable remains of the polygonal walls of the city of Circeii, and a number of villa-platforms. On the other side of the promontory, near the Lago di Paola, are extensive ruins of the gigantic villa of Domitian. Local tradition points out a cave as being the dwelling-place of Circe, and we can think of her as painted by Dosso Dossi or described by Virgil :

*Proxima Circaeae raduntur litora terrae,
dives inaccessos ubi Solis filia lucos
adsiduo resonat cantu tectisque superbis
urit odoratam nocturna in lumina cedrum,
arguto tenuis percurrens pectine telas.*

—AEN., VII, 10

The promontory was separated from the mainland by a canal, the Fossa Augusta, many traces of which still exist. It was probably excavated by Nero as part of his mad scheme for uniting the great naval harbour of Lake Avernus with the mouth of the Tiber, in order to avoid the dangerous coastal navigation. The canal was to have been 160 miles long and was never completed, but in beginning the work much damage was done to the famous Caecuban vineyards in the plain of Fondi.

CHAPTER VI

FRASCATI AND TUSCULUM

*Prospicis hinc Tibur, colles et arva Catonis.
Pulchrior aspectu quae tibi scaena subit ?*

—INSCRIPTION AT MONDRAGONE

THE earliest road to the district of which Tusculum is the centre was probably the Via Labicana, which retained its original name even after the abandonment of Labici. But, during the wars of the fifth and sixth century B.C. against the Aequi, and after the capture of the important pass of the Algidus, the Romans required a good military road to the south and built the Via Latina. This road gradually superseded the older ones, and the great development of the Tusculan territory as a fashionable residential resort gave it a more than military or commercial importance. During the Middle Ages it was, however, abandoned, probably both on account of the bad state of the ancient pavement and of the construction of castles along its course. Unlike the Appia, it has not recovered even part of its former credit, and, while long-distance traffic now follows the course of the Labicana, communications with Frascati are maintained along the Tuscolana, a road the antiquity of which is no more than probable.

The modern VIA TUSCOLANA leaves the Via Appia Nuova a few hundred yards from the Porta S. Giovanni, and in the first portion of its course passes nothing of interest. Just before Porta Furba it is joined by the Castelli tram, which follows it till the Anagnina. The very picturesque PORTA FURBA was built by Sixtus V in 1585 in order to carry the aqueduct of the Aqua Felice which he brought to the city in the extensively restored channel and arches of the Marcia. To the left is a pretty fountain of Clement XII, and this is a good point from which to examine the construction of the great aqueducts, the Marcia, the Claudia,

and the Anio Novus. The higher line of arches carried the two latter, which were built by Claudius; the lower carried the earlier aqueducts, Marcia, Tepula, and Julia. Claudius completed his work in A.D. 52, carrying the waters on those arches of peperino which are so conspicuous an object in the Campagna. But there seems to have been a considerable amount of jerry-building, since twenty years later the Flavians had to restore it thoroughly by enclosing certain sections in a great wall of brick-faced concrete. The peperino arches of Claudius can easily be recognized, although in many cases the blocks have been removed for building material, and only the space of the arch now remains in the concrete.

After Porta Furba we cross the main railway line over a high bridge. Beyond it, to the left of the road, we see a large conical mound, crowned by a few olives, known as the MONTE DEL GRANO. The name was really derived from its shape, like a *modius* or measure of grain, but a legend grew up that a heap of grain had been turned to earth because gathered on a Sunday. It is a very interesting Roman mausoleum, that follows very closely the early Etruscan type. The round chamber in the interior is well preserved and was lit by skylights. It had two floors, but the vault which separated them has fallen in. The great sarcophagus in the Capitoline Museum, with the relief of Achilles in Skyros, was found here in the sixteenth century, but there is no reason to suppose that it belonged to Alexander Severus or that the Portland vase was found in it. The tomb can be dated by the brickwork to the third century A.D.

We now go through the objectionable suburb of Quad-raro; the ancient tower, built into the casale of that name, is on the road to the left; the road to the right goes to the Appia Nuova, passing the villa of Le Vignacce (see p. 47). A private road to the right, a little farther on, leads to Romavecchia, where one can examine the channels of the aqueducts as they come out of the ground. We soon come in sight of the extensive ruins of Settebassi on the right and, after passing another road to the Appia, reach the Osteria del Curato (tram halt), which is the best place

from which to visit the ruins. The VILLA OF SETTEBASSI, also called Roma Vecchia di Frascati, is, after that of the Quintilii, the largest and best preserved, and one of the most interesting for the history of architectural development. The attribution to Septimius Bassus, a gentleman who is otherwise perfectly unknown, is merely drawn from the mediaeval name ; all other attempts at identification are equally hypothetical. All we can say is that the villa was built during the first half of the second century A.D., and we can identify three periods of construction by the differences in material. Gavin Hamilton also excavated here in 1775. Compared to the villa of the Quintilii, it presents a much more compact plan, but the buildings were probably higher ; the very extensive substructions are another peculiarity.

In walking from the Osteria del Curato (so called because it was the endowment of the Lateran parish) we first pass a number of scattered ruins and come to the south group of buildings, which is also the oldest ; the rooms are all very much buried, but it is still possible to recognize an open court with a large hall opening on it and several vaulted rooms. The second block between it and the north group is of the second period, when a kind of apsed terrace was added on the west overlooking the great rectangular garden. The superstructure has nearly all perished, but the cryptoporticus which ran below it is well preserved. One of the rooms on the right has a very large window and behind it is a row of chambers. A peculiar feature is the considerable number of small slit windows, either for light or, more probably, for drainage from the roofs. The whole north end of the rectangular garden is closed by the third block, which is of the time of Hadrian and the Antonines. The portion on the right certainly formed part of a bathing establishment ; we first find an open court, perhaps for the cold bath, and beyond it come two rooms, the *tepidarium* and the *calidarium*, with flues for heating in the walls, and a number of small rooms, probably air-shafts, on either side. We now pass into the most remarkable part of the ruins, the great hall with its six windows in two rows in the north wall. It was probably

roofed with wooden beams, and is one of the most impressive things in the Campagna ; the floor, which rested on the vaulted substructures, has collapsed. The whole block was supported on these substructures, which are extremely interesting, one room presenting the first example of quadripartite vaulting formed by the intersection of ribs of tiles. The block had terraces both on the south looking on the garden and on the north towards Rome. At the end of the platform, on the west, we find a large apse with a window in the centre, probably part of a private basilica ; it is supported externally by buttresses, another architectural novelty much developed in subsequent ages. To the south-east we can see the large reservoir of the villa, supplied by an aqueduct from the Claudia, and due south, close to the line of the Latina, is another isolated block. There are a number of much more ruined constructions all round the garden.

Returning to the Tuscolana we descend a little way and then the road forks ; the one to the right, which is followed by the tram, is called the Anagnina, and we shall examine it later (p. 109) ; we continue the Tuscolana to the left. We pass on the right the Tor Mezzavia di Frascati, built on an ancient ruin ; just beyond it is a reservoir. On our left is a large wireless station and beyond it a fine mediaeval tower (SS. Quattro). A road now leads off on the right to Casal Morena (p. 109), and another on the left to Torrenova, passing by considerable remains of ancient villas. A couple of miles farther on we reach the FONTE VERMICINO, a fountain and drinking trough with the arms of Clement XII. The name has been explained as meaning 'poisonous', and connected with a story told, among others, by Roger of Hoveden, that, when Christian, Archbishop of Mainz, was moving in 1183 to relieve Tusculum, then besieged by the Romans, the latter poisoned the waters of the fount, causing the death of Christian and of a thousand of his soldiers. The track to the right is the Via Cavona, the old road that ran at the foot of the Alban hills. The Tuscolana turns sharply to the left up a steep gradient ; the road to the left is the other branch of the Cavona that goes to the Labicana (p. 156). We now cross

over both the railway to Naples and that to Frascati. To the right of the road, among the vines and olives, we can see the Torre di Micara, and, after a house with an enamelled 'Shell' sign on it, we find the track which leads there. The TORRE DI MICARA, so called from the name of a proprietor, is a very large round mausoleum, about ninety feet in diameter and some twenty-eight high; the only portion now preserved is the outside wall in very accurate masonry that has weathered to a beautiful colour. In the interior are some traces of ancient chambers of brick, but most of the buildings are mediaeval and of the time of the Annibaldi, who owned it. In the eleventh century it was the site of a Church of S. Maria in Gerusalem. The outer wall is now crowned by Guelph battlements, and it is impossible to guess how the ancient mausoleum was terminated. It is usually called, without the slightest reason, the tomb of Lucullus. On the slopes above it, at Fontana Piscaro, which is reached by the track that goes up the hill just before Micara, are the interesting remains of a large villa. It consists entirely of substructures which were built in front of the cryptoporticus of an earlier villa. The vaults are naturally very dark and a lamp or torch is indispensable. The most interesting part is the earlier cryptoporticus at the back, which was lit by slit windows and divided down the centre by a row of columns covered with stucco. A wall was later built directly in front of them.

The Via Tuscolana now climbs up the steep ascent to Frascati. Just before reaching the town we pass the entrance to the Park Hotel, which formerly belonged to S. Maria in Campitelli in Rome. It is charmingly situated and its terrace commands a delightful view. The terrace itself is part of an ancient villa, identified on perhaps insufficient grounds with that of the Emperor Galba; some years ago a cryptoporticus with stuccoed decoration was discovered. In the grounds above it there is a very fine cistern with four rows of arches. Beyond the entrance to the hotel the Tuscolana bends to the right and reaches Frascati below the Villa Torlonia.

BY THE VIA ANAGNINA

This route, which is that of the tram-line, is slightly longer for Frascati but is the direct route to Grottaferrata and Monte Cavo. It follows the line of the Via Latina and received its modern name, which is now rather misleading, in 1377 when Gregory XI used it to go to Anagni. It continues to the south from the Tuscolana just after the Osteria del Curato, getting nearer and nearer to the line of the Latina on the right. At the eleventh kilometre, near Casalotto, we can see in the fields the remains of the channels of the aqueducts that are here almost at ground level. Just beyond this point the Anagnina and the Latina coincide. Not a mile farther on the road is crossed by another which comes from the Tuscolana and goes to the Appia, passing by the modern suburb of Ciampino. Immediately after, on the right of the road, is the entrance to the large Casal Morena, built over the remains of ancient villas. This is one of the oldest estates in the Campagna, since it is mentioned by this name in the fourth century, when it belonged to the Lateran Chapter. It is therefore very probable that it was an estate of the family of that name, one of whose members was defended by Cicero.

A little distance to the left of the road is a large hill or spur of lava which is occupied by the extensive and conspicuous remains of a villa called CENTRONI. The name has led to the suggestion that it was one of the works of Centronius, whose mania for building is satirized by Juvenal, who, however, only mentions his buildings at Gaeta, Praeneste, and Tibur. To reach it we must cross the stream—the Marrana—which is formed by the waters of the Crabra and the Julia and utilizes in part the channels of the ancient aqueducts. The ruins of the villa well deserve the steep climb, although they are almost entirely the remains of the substructures. But on the side towards Rome we see a façade formed by a series of blind arches and engaged columns which occupied one side of a large tank. The circular openings in the arches are curious; they do not seem to be windows and can hardly be the mouths of fountains since there is no

trace either of piping or of incrustations. The passage behind it is also interesting and supported some kind of wooden scaffolding. The whole hill is tunnelled by a number of old quarry galleries, which are entered at the foot of the north side and are most remarkable ; a torch is necessary to visit them.

About a mile farther on we reach Ciampino, or, as it is more usually known at present, *VILLA SENNI*. It stands exactly at the tenth mile of the ancient road and was the first posting station *ad Decimum*. As usual, it became a small village known as *Respublica Decimiensium* and also as the *Vicus Angusclanus*. It was a dependency of *Tusculum*, for an inscription has been found mentioning the restoration of a shrine of the *Lares Augusti* by a *Tusculan* magistrate. In the *Senni* vineyards, to the left, are extensive remains of this village, which was also a road centre of some importance since it was crossed by the ancient road, now the *Via Cavona*, from *Vermicino* to *Frattocchie*, and the main road to *Frascati* branched off here. But the most interesting ancient remains are those of some Christian catacombs discovered in 1912, the key of which is kept at the *Abbey of Grottaferrata*. Many of the *arcosolia* are decorated with columns and coloured marbles, while among the frescoes we find a *Good Shepherd* and the *Traditio Legis*.

From this point the tram runs to the left of the road and has far more attractive views, especially of the *Torrione di Micara* on the left. We pass below the great enceinte of the *Castle of Borghetto* (better seen from the tramway) which, like the *Castle at Caecilia Metella*, was originally built across the *Via Latina* and led to the abandonment of the road. It was built towards the end of the eleventh century by the *Counts of Tusculum* as an advanced redoubt of their possessions in the *Alban hills*. By the thirteenth it belonged to the *Annibaldi*, who seem to have entirely rebuilt it, since most of the present enceinte is of that date. It then passed into the hands of the *Savelli*, who adapted the fortifications for cannon emplacements. It suffered greatly during the wars between *Eugenius IV* and the *Colonna-Savelli* families, and its abandonment dates

from that time. In 1445 Eugenius IV gave it to Antonio Rido, the governor of Castel S. Angelo, for having managed to capture the Pope's famous, or infamous, general, the Cardinal Vitelleschi. The enceinte of the castle deserves a visit, if only for the view.

The valley to the right of the road is called Marciana, and probably belonged to Trajan's beautiful sister. A little beyond Borghetto, quite close to the tramway, is another very large villa platform on which is built the Villa Montioni. Farther on a road leads off to the right to the Abbey of Grottaferrata, but it is better to go straight on for some hundred yards to the Bivio di Grottaferrata on the high-road, the main tramway junction. The Latina goes straight on (p. 129), while the road to the right is the highway to Albano (p. 148); we must take the branch on the left, which will lead us to Frascati, passing below the Villa Muti, which occupies the site of an ancient villa, and the Villa Conti-Torlonia.

FRASCATI

Ad levandam opportuno secessu urbanarum curarum molem.

—INSCRIPTION ON THE ALDOBRANDINI NYMPHAEUM

Frascati is the most important of the towns round Rome; it is also the most recent. In ancient times Tusculum, now deserted, was the real centre of this region, and the site now occupied by the modern town was then only a part of the sumptuous suburban estates. The villa, on whose terraces most of the modern city was built, belonged to Passienus Crispus, the second husband of Agrippina and the stepfather of Nero. He is praised as one of the first orators of his day and became consul in A.D. 42. But his great riches caused Agrippina to do away with him and the Tusculan villa descended to Nero and was incorporated in the Imperial estates. In the Middle Ages it is hardly mentioned; the Abbey of Subiaco tried to prove that a certain Tertullus gave the site to S. Benedict, but the documents on which the claim rested have been proved a

forgery. In the ninth century we find mention of some churches in *Frascata* or *Frascara*, which proves the existence of a poor village of peasants and cultivators, living in huts made of wattles (*frasche*). It seems to have depended from the Holy See rather than from Tusculum, and when the latter was finally destroyed in 1191 a considerable portion of the population must have settled here, just below their old home. All the Tusculan territory passed to the papacy, which granted Frascati to the Lateran Chapter. At the beginning of the fifteenth century it passed for a short period into the hands of the Colonna, but, since it was rapidly increasing in population and prosperity, it was retaken by the Church. In 1478 Sixtus IV borrowed 20,000 florins from the famous Cardinal d'Estouteville, a relation of the French king, and granted him as security the government and revenues of Frascati; the cardinal was later appointed vicar-general for the district and did much for the town, while his sons, euphemistically called nephews, bought it for 8,000 florins. During the war between the Colonna and the Orsini the d'Estoutevilles sided with the latter, but were defeated, and the castle was captured by the former, who, however, were forced to restore it. Alexander VI confiscated it and gave it to his son Giovanni, Duca di Gandia. Julius II recovered it, but, on the marriage of his niece, Lucrezia, with Marcantonio Colonna, settled the castle on her and her heirs. In 1526 she sold it to Pierluigi Farnese, who gave it to his uncle Paul III. This Pope is the great benefactor of the modern town, which he restored and surrounded with walls, while granting it the title of city. From that time the history of Frascati is that of its villas. Its prosperity is ever on the increase and is especially due to the wine, the production of which is enormous—over 2,000,000 gallons a year. It is excellent, but the best is to be found in the small taverns rather than in the hotels. It does not keep and should always be bought open, never in a bottle. The half-litre measure, the most popular, is always called a *foglietta* (pronounced *fojetta*, probably from the resemblance of the mouth of an old beaker to a leaf). The villas now form the chief attraction for the tourist, but

access to them is not as easy as formerly. Theoretically one should be always accompanied by an official guide, but it is sometimes possible to obtain entrance permits from the bookshop Ruggeri in the square of the cathedral.

Arriving from Rome either by car or by tram, we first cross the large new Piazza del Municipio, with a war memorial in the centre. On the hill-side is the vast Villa Aldrobrandini; the beautiful entrance and wall, with excellent wrought-iron in the openings, is of the beginning of the eighteenth century by C. F. Bizzacheri. To the right of the villa is the road to Squarciarelli (p. 131), and on the right side of the square is the large VILLA CONTI TORLONIA. It is built on the terraces of a great Roman villa which is very probably the villa of Lucullus, considered one of the most sumptuous in the world. It belonged to the Abbey of Grottaferrata, from which it was bought in 1563 by Annibale Caro, the author of a famous translation of the Aeneid, known as the '*bella infedele*' (the 'fair but faithless'). He built a simple country house, which he called the Cara-Villa, as a refuge from Rome. At his death in 1566 it passed to the Cenci and eventually to the Borghese, who gave it its present appearance. Most of the famous fountains and waterworks are of this time, and were designed by Fontana, Ponzio, and Maderno. The villa itself contains some very interesting pictures of the Conti family, from their castle at Poli, including the famous Captain Torquato Conti with his family and officers and another representing Innocent XIII's arrival at the Villa Catena.

From the piazza we go to the square in front of the CATHEDRAL, which, originally built in 1598-1610, only received its present not too successful façade in 1700 after designs by Girolamo Fontana. It became the cathedral in 1708. The interior is grand but contains little of interest. To the left of the main door is the memorial to Charles Edward Stuart, raised by his brother the Cardinal of York, Bishop of Frascati. At the prince's death in 1788 the body was transported from Rome to Frascati, but it was shortly afterwards taken back to S. Peter's, where it now rests, Frascati retaining the viscerae. The

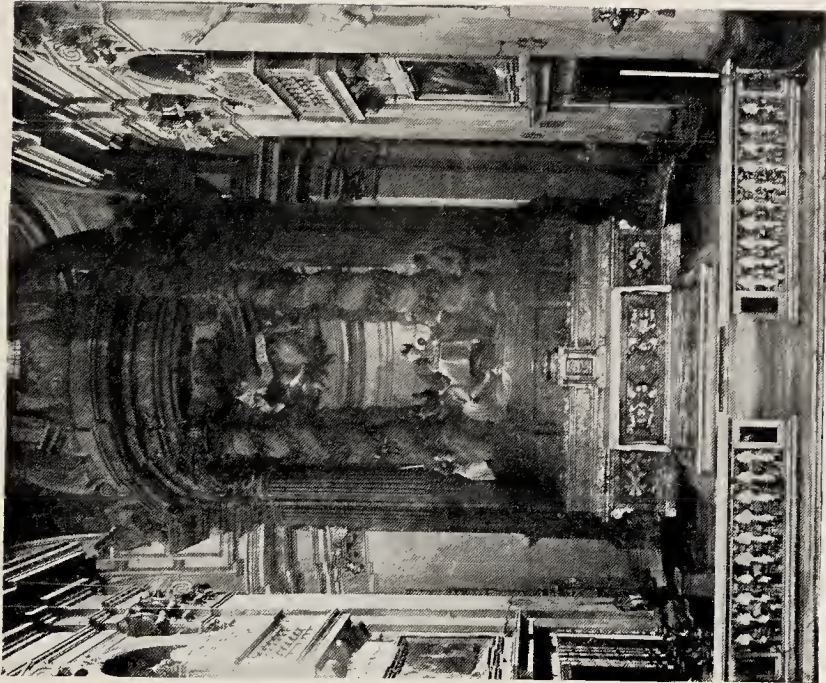
inscription is surmounted by the Stuart achievement still quartering the arms of France, and with the badges both of the Garter and of the Thistle. Some of the large banners of the church also bear the arms of the Duke of York.

The handsome fountain in the square is also by Girolamo Fontana. It is built against the wall of the seminary, the entrance to which is in the little square to the left. It was originally a Jesuit house, but in 1770, on the suppression of the order, the Cardinal of York turned it into a seminary, as is mentioned in the inscription above the door. In the interior is the very valuable library, most of which was the gift of the cardinal, whose bust is in the place of honour. There are several codices that belonged to the Stuarts, including a breviary of the fourteenth century written by an English hand, and a Book of Hours that belonged to Catherine de' Medici. Either from the seminary or from the square one can visit the interesting CHURCH OF THE GESÙ, with a handsome façade by Pietro da Cortona. The interior is frescoed by Andrea Pozzo, the famous architect and painter and a great student of scientific perspective. The almost flat apse is occupied by a magnificent scene of the Circumcision, which seems to take place in a vast edifice under a great and complicated canopy. The altars to the right and left, of S. Sebastian and of S. Ignatius, are also by Pozzo, while the false dome is frescoed by his pupil Colli. It should be admired from the black marble dot in the pavement; from other points of view the real flatness is more obvious. The silver lamps are a gift of the Cardinal Duke, whose arms they bear.

By taking the road to the left of the church and then turning to the left we reach the ancient castle of Cardinal d'Estouteville, now the EPISCOPAL PALACE. It has been extensively modernized but still retains its original character of a fortress. The courtyard in the interior is picturesque, the staircase leading to the upper floor having been built by another English bishop, the Cardinal Howard. In the interior are two beautifully carved doors of the time of Lucrezia della Rovere, also some pictures. In a room on the upper floor the last of the Stuarts passed away on

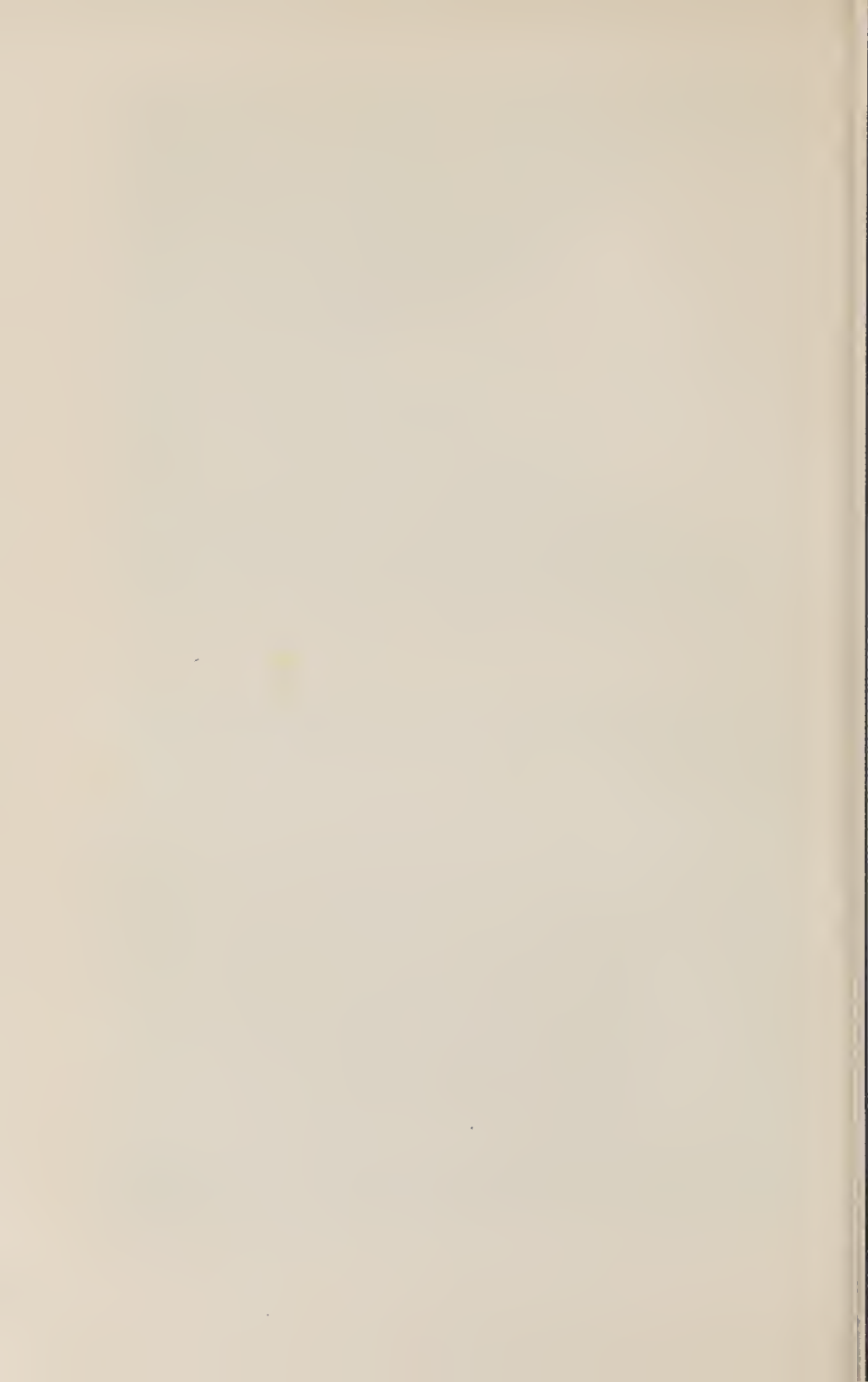


MONDRAGONE (*p.* 118)



FRASCATI

THE APSE OF THE GESÚ



July 13th 1807, sincerely lamented by the population of Frascati. To the right of the Episcopio is the ancient CHURCH OF S. ROCCO, formerly S. Maria del Vivaro and cathedral of the town, the oldest of the Frascati churches. It has a fine campanile ; but the entrance is from a square below the castle, which is decorated by a fountain of the time of d'Estouteville. Inside the church there is very little of note, except two badly preserved frescoes of the school of Lo Spagna over the altar to the left.

Returning to the cathedral we can begin the visit of the villas by taking the street to the right of the façade. Carriages and motors must make a detour by the road to the right of the fountain, which passes an interesting group of Stuart arms. We come to a square where a large round core of concrete is wrongly called the tomb of Lucullus. Its marble revetment was employed in the construction of the cathedral. A large cross stands at the fork of the road ; we first take the branch on the right, which passes behind the wall of the Lancellotti Villa. A little house and chapel in this wall, with a commemorative inscription above it, was the retreat of Cardinal Baronius, the great historian of the Church. In the last years of his life he assisted from his cell at the construction, across the road, of the great Aldobrandini Villa, and as a reproof for this magnificence, placed above his own retreat the famous inscription *morituro satis*. This epigram was later used to controvert the claims of the cardinal in the process of beatification.

We now reach the side-entrance to the VILLA ALDOBRANDINI, the most magnificent of all. It is also known as the Belvedere and was built by Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini with the support of his uncle Clement VIII. Begun in 1601 by Giacomo della Porta, it was not yet quite finished at his death in 1604. The work was continued by Carlo Maderno, who designed many of the waterworks, and by Giovanni Fontana. The rooms are frescoed by the Zuccari, the Cav. d'Arpino, and by the school of Domenichino. But the best description is that of Evelyn who said that it 'surpassed the most delicious places . . . for its situation, elegance, plentiful water, groves, ascents, and

prospects'. The famous water theatre is also described : 'Just behind the palace . . . rises a high hill or mountain all overclad with tall wood, and so formed by nature as if it had been cut out by art, from the summit of which falls a cascade . . . precipitating into a large theatre of water. Under this is an artificial grot wherein are curious rocks, hydraulic organs, and all sorts of singing birds, moving and chirping by force of the water, with several other pageants and surprising inventions. In the centre of one of these rooms rises a copper ball that continually dances about three feet above the pavement, by virtue of a wind conveyed secretly to a hole beneath it ; with many other devices for wetting the unwary spectators. . . . In one of these theatres of water is an Atlas spouting . . . and another monster makes a terrible roaring with a horn ; but, above all, the representation of a storm is most natural, with such a fury of rain, wind, and thunder, as one would imagine oneself in some extreme tempest.' Many of the technical details were due to Orazio Olivieri of Tivoli, who had already worked at the Villa d'Este. The great inscription above the theatre commemorates the recuperation of Ferrara by the Holy See, very largely through the diplomacy of Cardinal Pietro. It is curious that the political event that caused the decline of the greatest of the Roman villas should have helped the erection of a rival. The park of the villa is extensive and delightful ; a path above the fountain leads up to Tusculum, also reached by a very dubious carriage road which passes through the whole estate.

A little beyond the entrance to the Aldobrandini, and on the other side of the road, we come to the Church and Convent of the Capuccini ; the church contains frescoes of the Evangelists by Pomarancio and an altar-piece of the Madonna with Saints by Giulio Romano. A little above it is a secondary entrance to the Rufinella. The path continues up to Tusculum.

Returning to the cross in the square by the tomb of Lucullus, we now take the road on the left which leads first to the small VILLA LANCELOTTI, on the right. The villa (it is by no means easy of access, but was open to the

public on September 29th) is small but beautifully planned ; it was built in its present form by the Piccolomini at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but it was bought in 1867 by Prince Lancellotti. In the vestibule is a magnificent mosaic pavement with figures of gladiators that was discovered at Camaldoli in 1863 ; there is also an interesting collection of portraits of members of the House of Savoy, brought here from the Rufinella. The beautiful parterre in front of the villa is closed by a fine nymphaeum.

The entrance to the VILLA FALCONIERI is near by, to the left. It is the earliest of the Tusculan villas and was also known as Rufina or Maddalena. It was built on the site of an ancient villa by Alessandro Rufini, Bishop of Melfi, in 1546-48, but, having contracted enormous debts, he was obliged to sell it in 1563 to Francesco Cenci, the infamous father of Beatrice. It passed through several hands till in the seventeenth century it was bought by the Falconieri, who enlarged and embellished it with the help of some of the best artists of the time. In 1905 it was bought by Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, who presented it to the German Emperor, from whom, during the war, it was confiscated by the Italian Government. The architecture is due to Borromini and is one of his masterpieces ; in the vault of the entrance hall is a fresco by Carlo Maratta, representing the Birth of Venus, and in two lunettes on the walls some very interesting portrait groups of members of the Falconieri family by Ciro Ferri. All the frescoes in this villa are worthy of notice, especially some caricatures and a self-portrait by the famous Roman caricaturist Ghezzi. But the principal charm of the villa is its garden with the beautiful pool surrounded by cypresses. It is now the seat of the International Institute of Cinematography.

In order to see the other villas we must retrace our steps. Taking the road to the right of the fountain in the square of the cathedral and then turning to the right, we come to an open space with two monumental gateways. The one on the right is modern, having been built in 1877 by Prince Lancellotti as an entrance to the RUFINELLA. This villa is the highest one of all, the palace being above the Capuccini, but it is also difficult of access. It was a small farm

which belonged to Mons. Rufini, and like the Falconieri, passed through many different hands. In 1740 it was bought by the Jesuits, who built the palace after designs of Vanvitelli. It rests on a portion of an ancient villa which extended as far as the Capuccini. In 1804 it was bought by Prince Lucien Bonaparte, and in 1817 he was nearly captured here by the famous brigand De Cesaris, who, with his band, attacked the villa and captured several of his servants, whom the prince had to ransom. In 1820 he sold it to Maria Anna of Savoy, Duchess of Chablais, whence it passed to the royal house of Sardinia, which, in 1872, sold it to the Lancellotti. It was a favourite residence of Queen Maria Cristina of Bourbon.

The gateway to the left leads to Mondragone, for which no permit is necessary. A beautiful drive through the park passes below the former Villa Taverna or Borghese (no admission), built in 1604 by Cardinal Taverna and sold ten years later to Cardinal Scipione Borghese, who extended and embellished it. It remained a Borghese property till 1896, when it was bought by the Parisi, the present owners.

By a magnificent avenue of ilex we reach the colossal VILLA MONDRAGONE, the largest and handsomest in the district. It stands on the site of a villa of the Quintilii, the two brothers who also owned the great villa on the Via Appia, but hardly any traces of Roman construction are now visible. The present building (to which admission can be usually obtained on application to the porter) was begun by Cardinal Altemps in 1572, following a suggestion of Gregory XIII, who was his guest at the Villa Vecchia at the foot of the hill. The chief architect was Martino Longhi, but Vignola certainly collaborated with him and designed certain parts. In 1575 the central portion had already been built and the cardinal began a second portion parallel to the first. As a compliment to the Pope the villa was decorated with the heraldic dragon of the Boncompagni and called Mondragone. The Pope was often the cardinal's guest, and from this villa on February 24th 1582 he promulgated the Bull establishing the new calendar. The original building is said to have had 365 windows in memory of the event, but I have not counted them. The

cardinal's heirs were forced to sell it in 1613 to Cardinal Scipione Borghese, the nephew of Paul V, who completed the building by adding all the west wing, uniting the two earlier blocks. The architect was Giovanni Vasanzio (Van Zans), who probably made use of designs left by Ponzio and perhaps by Vignola. He also built the beautiful nymphæum and the loggia in front of it. The villa always remained Borghese property, but in later times was almost completely abandoned till 1865, when Prince Marcantonio allowed the Jesuits, who after his death bought it in 1895, to establish a college. The *Collegio di Mondragone* is now one of the most famous Jesuit colleges in Europe and receives pupils of all nations. Some of the rooms, especially the papal suite, are very handsome, and the view from the windows and the terrace is one of the most beautiful round Rome.

A little above Mondragone is the hermitage of CAMALDOLI. The ground was given to the monks of that order by Paul V, and the buildings were begun in 1607, but are of little interest. There are very scanty remains of antiquity near it, probably of a villa which, from inscriptions found in earlier excavations, may perhaps have belonged to the *gens Furia*. Near the convent was found the mosaic with athletes now in the Villa Lancellotti. In 1739 Cardinal Domenico Passionei determined to retire from the world and built next to the convent a small villa-hermitage to which he brought his collections of antiquities. But if the cardinal wished to fly from the world, the world pursued him to Frascati; the lane leading to the hermitage was at all times filled with the chairs and carriages of prelates, nobles, men of the world, and men of letters. The meditations of the Camaldolesi were now disturbed by the constant sound of worldly entertainments, and, when at last the cardinal died of a stroke in 1761, the monks instantly took possession of his house and destroyed it so effectually that no other prelate has ever again retired from and with the world to this charming spot. But the unfortunate monks were to have an even more unpleasant visitor. On May 10th 1821 the monastery was captured by a band of brigands led by the famous Gasperone, who carried off

some of the monks and held them to ransom. It was said that the brigands had hoped to capture Cardinal Pacca, who was then visiting the churches and monasteries of his diocese.

TUSCULUM

*Inde petens celsam quae Tuscula dicitur urbem
Moenibus excelsis tutaque in sede resedit.*

—GUNTHERUS LIGURINUS, VITA FRIDERICI I

A strangely unanimous tradition ascribes the foundation of Tusculum to Telegonus, the son of Ulysses and Circe, when he came to Italy after having unwittingly killed his father. The poets therefore frequently speak of it as *Telegoni moenia*, *Circaeum dorsum*, and *Telegoni iuga parricidae*, and naturally Virgil, with unusual consistency, does not mention it. The name has been supposed to indicate an original Etruscan foundation, but no Etruscan remains have been found here or in the neighbourhood. The chief Tusculan family was that of the Mamilii, who traced their descent from Telegonus. Tarquinius Superbus gave his daughter in marriage to Octavius Mamilius, the dictator or chief magistrate of Tusculum, and thus secured his support after his expulsion from Rome. 'The proudest town of all' placed itself at the head of the League of the Thirty Cities which attempted to restore the Tarquins, but it was utterly defeated at the battle of Lake Regillus (Pantano Secco, p. 156), and the dictator himself was slain. Its subsequent history is somewhat obscure, but it seems to have been almost always a faithful ally of Rome, and one of the first, if not *the* first, municipium. During the war with the Aequi, Tusculum formed a valuable base for the operations of the Roman armies, but in 379 B.C., in consequence of a dispute with the Praenestines, some Tusculan deserters were found by Camillus among the Volscian troops. The Senate therefore declared war and sent Camillus with an army into the Tusculan territory. But the Tusculans refused to accept the declaration of war, and made no opposition to the advance of Camillus

and continued 'business as usual'. Since it takes two if not more to make a war, the Senate decided to let bygones be bygones, the Tusculan dictator was invited to Rome, and the existing treaties were confirmed. It again joined the enemies of Rome during the great Latin war, but was granted exceptionally favourable terms at the close of the campaign in 335 B.C. In 211 B.C. Hannibal, during his rapid demonstration against Rome, was repulsed from its walls, but he probably only attempted a surprise at the most. In later times it was almost a suburb of Rome and furnished some of the most important families to the Republic, such as the Mamilii, the two Catos, the Sulpicii, the Fulvii, the Quinctii.

Under the Empire we hear of it only as a favourite residential district, and its history in the early Middle Ages is also obscure; it was apparently of less importance than Labici (see p. 158), which gave the title to the diocese till 1100. But it assumes an extraordinary historical importance through the rise of the famous Counts of Tusculum, the ancestors of the Colonna family. At the close of the eighth century the chief of the Roman nobility was Theophylactus, '*vesterarius et magister militum*', and his wife Theodora. He was probably descended from a family known as 'de Via Lata', since its houses were situated at the end of the present Corso, near the SS. Apostoli and Trajan's column, where is still the Colonna Palace. This family had already produced Pope Hadrian I (772-796) and possessed vast estates in the *Tuscia* (the territory of Viterbo), which has been thought to have been the earliest form of their title. It claimed, probably with truth, to be descended from the Anicii Julii, but there is also a certain amount of evidence which would lead us to suppose that it had originally come from Ravenna in Byzantine times.

Theophylactus and Theodora had two beautiful daughters, Marozia and Theodora II, both women of the greatest ability and political acumen, who exercised for a considerable time an unbounded influence in Rome and in Italy. Theodora married into the noble family of the Crescenzi, whose possessions and castles were on the Via Nomentana (p. 269), and was the grandmother of the famous

Crescentius, who, after governing Rome for many years, was at last treacherously put to death by Otho III. Marozia was the elder sister and probably inherited the vast possessions of the family, both in Tuscia and in Tusculum. She first married a Frankish or Lombard adventurer, Count Alberic, then Guy, Margrave of Tuscany, and finally Hugo, King of Italy, not to mention the lovers she may or perhaps may not have had. But on her third marriage her son Alberic II headed a rebellion of the Romans, drove Hugo from the city, and cast his mother in prison. He ruled as 'prince and senator of all the Romans' for over twenty years. His son Gregory was the first to assume the title of 'de Tuscolana', which we find in a document of A.D. 999, and granted S. Nilus the land on which rose Grottaferrata (p. 134). For the whole of the eleventh century and during the first portion of the twelfth, the power of the Counts of Tusculum was unbounded, and was far greater in Rome and in Latium than that of the Pope. During the first half of the eleventh century, indeed, they had almost succeeded in transforming the Papacy into an hereditary fief of their family, and, as Roman nobles, were usually the firm supporters of the Papacy against the Emperor and against Arnold of Brescia. Gregory's grandson, Gregory III, and his great-grandsons Tolomeo I and Pietro della Colonna, the ancestor of the present Colonna family, not only held their hereditary estates in Tuscia and in Sabina but had extended their dominions from Tusculum to Palestrina on the east, while they were lords of the whole of the littoral of Latium, so that in 1104 they were at war with the inhabitants of distant Gaeta over maritime questions.

But in 1117 Tolomeo II married Bertha, the illegitimate daughter of the Emperor Henry V, and deserted to the Imperial cause. This defection was never forgiven by the Roman people, who, from that moment, sought the destruction of the dangerous neighbour. In 1153 Tolomeo died and his vast possessions were divided among his three sons, thus beginning the decline of the Tusculan power. Frederic I, when he came to Rome to be crowned in 1155, stopped at the castle, as also a little later did the

English Pope, Hadrian IV. But when, under Alexander III, the great struggle began between the Church and the Empire, the Pope granted the Romans full liberty to act against Tusculum. Count Raino was supported by the emperor, and on May 29th 1167 utterly defeated the Romans in the great battle of Prataporci (p. 156). The battle was decided by a brilliant sortie of the German cavalry, led by Rainald of Cologne, down the slopes of Camaldoli. The Imperial army was then able to capture Rome and put Alexander to flight, but in August the plague almost entirely destroyed the Germans and Barbarossa was forced to retire. Tusculum had to bear the brunt of the reaction of the Romans, whose hatred of the city knew no bounds, and in 1170 Raino abdicated in favour of the Pope. Alexander entered it almost at once and for two years lived in the castle on the ancient acropolis, where he received the news of Becket's murder. But the Romans wished the destruction of the city, and in 1172 he allowed them to dismantle the walls. The popes made some attempt to preserve it, but the anger of the Romans was constant, and when Henry VI came to Rome to receive the Imperial crown they told him that they would prevent his coronation if he did not help them to destroy Tusculum. On April 17th 1191 Tusculum was utterly destroyed, and the fury of the Romans appalled even the Germans. Not a stone was left in place, and the present state of the city shows how thoroughly the work was done. Tusculum thus disappears for ever from history, and Fabricius, visiting it in 1543, could write :

*Nunc jacet, hac ipsa cum villa, Tuscula tellus,
Albano fundata iugo, deleta furore
Romulidum ; quoniam fovisset Caesaris armis
Teutonici, damnumque dedisset civibus ingens.*

Several paths, all charming, lead to the scanty ruins of Tusculum. The best way, which follows the line of an ancient road, is up the side of the Villa Aldobrandini, past the Capuccini, and behind the Villa Rufinella. Above this point the path occasionally shows traces of the ancient paving-stones of lava. The whole district is covered with

numerous but unimportant remains of villas and ancient buildings. We thus reach a dip in the ridge of the hill, the site of the amphitheatre, now beautifully surrounded by pines. It was built in the second century A.D. just to the west of the city walls at one of the most important road centres in the district. The remains of the seats are extremely scanty and are now much overgrown. For some unknown reason it is commonly called the Scuola di Cicerone, and Cicero's villa is identified with a meadow below it, which it certainly is not. Continuing the road towards the city we pass on the right some immense substructions, commonly known as the Villa di Tiberio. On the platform is a large core of concrete, probably the remains of a temple which might be that of Jupiter, one of the chief divinities of Tusculum. In 210 B.C. this temple was struck by lightning and the roof was almost entirely destroyed. The platform is in Hadrianic *opus reticulatum*, and seems uncommonly large for a temple.

We now reach the level space formerly occupied by the ancient city. It has unfortunately been frequently excavated by its various princely owners, more in the hope of discovering antiquities than in the interests of science. The most important were those of Prince Lucien Bonaparte, who, in his later explorations, had the help of Canina, of the Borghese, who were trying to replace in part their great collection of ancient sculpture which had been taken to Paris, and of King Carlo Felice of Sardinia. Nearly all the ruins found in these excavations have now been covered up again and the plans published by Canina are of doubtful accuracy. We pass a little house into which a number of minor antiquities have been built and reach the flat space behind the theatre, which was probably the site of the Forum.

The theatre is the only well-preserved monument of the ancient city. It was excavated, as is mentioned in an inscription over the cavea, in 1839 by Canina at the expense of Queen Maria Christina of Sardinia, the widow of King Carlo Felice, who at that time was living at the Rufinella. The seats of the cavea are built into the hill-side, and are

not supported by substructures ; it is therefore of considerable antiquity, although the present building has been repaired in later times. The stage is of interest, since it preserves below it the chamber for the properties and scenery ; in it was kept the curtain, which in ancient theatres was drawn up and not let down. This chamber was reached by square trap-doors in the floor. In the hill behind the theatre is a large subterranean water reservoir which regulated the water-supply of all this portion of the city.

On the acropolis itself there are only very scanty remains of the mediaeval town, which prove how thorough was the destruction of 1191. The cross raised on the highest point was planted here in 1899 by students of the English College, then resident at Monte Porzio. Somewhere near it was the principal Temple of Tusculum, dedicated to Castor and Pollux. The view on all sides is wonderful ; to the north stretches the great plain of Latium with Rome and S. Peter's and in the distance the line of the Ciminian hills and the great mass of Soracte ; to the right the Sabine mountains merge gradually into the high Monte Gennaro above Tivoli, continued by the group of the Guadagnolo over Palestrina ; while to the left the slopes of hill and craters gradually descend to the wide plain and the sea-coast. To the south rises Monte Cavo, with Rocca di Papa nestling on its slopes, and a wide plain closed by the chain of the Algidus now, as in ancient times, covered with dense woods—' *nigrae feraci frondis in Algido* ' (HOR, Carm., IV, iv, 58).

The descent from Tusculum can be made by many ways ; an ancient road leads down to the south to the Via Latina which we can see below us, while from the amphitheatre it is possible to follow several different ancient roads, one to the Latina at its crossing with the modern road from Frascati to the Squarciarelli, another, descending to Mondragone and Barco di Borghese, passes some interesting remains of villa platforms in polygonal masonry of tufa, very unusual in such a material, and a large round tomb. But the most interesting is perhaps the ancient road to the north of the theatre which descends on Camaldoli. At the

edge of the plateau of Tusculum we find a very curious group of monuments. The high wall in *opus quadratum* of tufa has been thought by some to be the wall of the city and that therefore this was the site of a gate. It is true that a milestone was found here giving the practically correct distance from Rome as fifteen miles, but the wall itself has far more the appearance of a supporting wall for the embankment behind than that of a fortification. In front of it is a fountain consisting of a large rectangular block of tufa with a trough hollowed out in such a way as to have in the centre a small block of stone with a cup-shaped basin. The inscription on the front mentioned the aediles Q. Coelius Latiniensis and M. Decumius, but it is now almost illegible. The former of the two magistrates is mentioned by Cicero (*De imp. Pomp.*, 19, 58), and we can easily believe that the statesman would be on good terms with the magistrates of the town in which his favourite villa was situated. The water was, and still is, brought to the fountain from a very interesting cistern just a little above it. A small chamber of masonry in the side of the hill served as a filtering and distributing basin for the water, which was collected by a series of passages cut in the rock of the hill. Although the chamber is covered by a pointed vault, formed by narrowing courses of masonry, it need not be considered very ancient or to have been thus built through ignorance of the true arch.

MONTE PORZIO, MONTE COMPATRI, AND ROCCA PRIORA

The interest of this excursion from Frascati is due more to the beauty of the scenery than to actual remains of antiquity or historical reminiscences. The first two can be visited by tram from Frascati, but only motorists or very good walkers can return from Rocca Priora by the Via Latina.

The road leaves Frascati below the Castle of d'Estouteville and is followed practically all the way by the tram. Just outside the town the road to Colonna, which we shall

describe from the Via Labicana (p. 158), branches off to the left. Shortly afterwards we pass on the right a magnificent gateway with the arms of Paul V. Borghese. It is said to have been designed by Girolamo Rainaldi as a monumental entrance to the Villa Borghese Taverna, which we have already mentioned. The Pope intended to drive a straight road from here to the Villa Borghese in Rome, but died after the work had only just begun. A little farther on we pass the disused entrance to the avenue of Mondragone and the Villa Vecchia, the first house of the Cardinal Altemps. The charming orchard on the left of the road is laid out over the immense substructures of a great villa of the second century A.D. with dark and extremely complicated passages. It is now called Il Barco di Borghese from the Borghese who used it as a park for wild animals; the original owners of the villa are unknown.

Beyond the Barco the modern road leaves the track of the ancient one which ran considerably higher up the slopes of the hill. After a sharp turn to the right we see in front of us the considerable remains of a villa in two terraces, of which the lower is decorated with great niches. It is now known as '*Le Cappellette*' (the little chapels), a name derived from these very niches; in antiquity it belonged to Matidia, the niece of Trajan, or to her daughter of the same name, as is proved by the inscriptions on lead pipes found here. Some distance farther on we pass below the Villa Lucidi, now a college, which is built on the remains of a very large villa, a portion of which is cut through by the modern road.

We thus arrive at the most picturesquely situated village of Monte Porzio. Its mediaeval name was Mons Porculus and had nothing whatsoever to do with the Porcii, but the inhabitants were allowed to add Catone in order to distinguish themselves from a village of the same name in the Marche. It may be an ancient site, but there is no evidence except the position. During the Middle Ages there was a castle here, but it never seems to have been kept up; the changes in ownership are the usual ones of the district—monastery of S. Paul, Counts of Tusculum, and the

Colonna and the Annibaldi. In 1582 it was sold to Cardinal Altemps, who incorporated the estates with those of Mondragone and founded the modern village. It then passed to the Borghese, and it now contains little of interest. The fine church was first built under Gregory XIII and then rebuilt for G. B. Borghese by Rinaldi in 1666. It possesses the body of S. Iaconilla, translated here from the catacombs of Cyriaca together with her funerary inscription. A little below the village is a great stone pine which is a well-known landmark all over the Campagna.

The high-road does not enter the village but continues along the side of the hill to Monte Compatri, the ancient Labici. One tradition had it founded by a son of Minos, while Virgil makes it come to the aid of Latinus (*et picti scuta Labici*.—Aen., VII, 796), but the common opinion, which is doubtless correct, considered it a colony of Alba. It was certainly one of the cities of the Latin League, and it is frequently mentioned during the wars with the Aequi. In 418 B.C., however, it joined the enemies of Rome, but was defeated and its territory was given to a Roman colony which resisted Hannibal. After that date it disappears from history, and probably the village itself was abandoned till the Empire, when it sprang up again at the posting station Ad Quintanas on the Via Labicana (p. 158). It is probably of this later city that Silius writes '*habiles ad aratra Labici*' (viii, 368). The early mediaeval history of the site is unknown, but it is supposed with some likelihood to have been founded by the fugitives from Tusculum. The Castle of Mons Compatrum is first mentioned in 1340, when it belonged to the Annibaldi. A hundred years later it was sold to the Colonna, and in 1575 it was sold by them to Cardinal Altemps. Like the other Altemps estates it passed to the Borghese, who held it to the present day. The village is entirely modern and traces of the ancient walls that were observed nearly a century ago have disappeared. A little above the village is the church and convent of S. Silvestro, a very ancient foundation, built in its present state under Clement VIII and Paul V. It contains a few pictures and near it are remains of an ancient reservoir. Below the cemetery is a

large platform supported by a wall of *opus quadratum*, perhaps a villa.

A road which is followed by the tram leads down to the Via Labicana at S. Cesario. The upper road passes below the Monte Salomone, the highest peak of the Tusculan ridge, and in a few miles reaches Rocca Priora, the highest village in the Alban hills. It is probably the ancient Corbio, a strong fortress that figures prominently in the accounts of the wars against the Aequi and was one of the keys to the pass of the Algidus, but it subsequently disappears from history. In the Middle Ages it was called Rocca Perjura, probably on account of some sworn agreement made there. In the fourteenth century it belonged to the Annibaldi, but at the end of that century it passed by marriage to the Savelli, who held it till their bankruptcy in 1596, when it was bought by the Apostolic Camera. In 1806 it was sold to Lucien Bonaparte, and it eventually passed to the Rospigliosi. There is little of interest in the village itself. The old Savelli Castle has been almost entirely rebuilt, and the walls have disappeared except for one gateway. The Church of S. Rocco is of the fifteenth century and contains some much retouched frescoes. The great industry of the village was formerly the storage of snow during the summer in great cisterns and wells.

From Rocca Priora it is possible to take two interesting but long and somewhat tiring walks, either to Artena along the track of the Via Latina through the interesting pass of the Algidus (about twelve miles) or to the Monte Ariano, with the remains of the castle, probably built on the site of the Temple of Diana on the Algidus (p. 164), and then descend on Lariano or Velletri. The carriage-road from Rocca Priora descends into the great valley or plain of Molarra and reaches the Via Latina at the sixteenth milestone from Rome. Beyond this point the Via Latina is only a track, but the part on the right may be used for the return to the Bivio di Grottaferrata where we left the Anagnina. The remains of antiquity are not numerous, but the views of Monte Cavo and Tusculum are very fine. On a little hill to the west are some scanty mediaeval remains of the famous Castle of Molarra, the centre of the

power of the Annibaldi. Here Cardinal Riccardo Annibaldi in the second half of the thirteenth century received Innocent IV, Charles of Anjou, and St. Thomas Aquinas. It passed later to the Colonna, the Borghese, and the Aldobrandini. We now pass below the slopes of Tusculum and, after crossing the upper road from Frascati to Squarciarelli, descend to the Bivio of Grottaferrata.

CHAPTER VII

GROTTAFERRATA AND THE ALBAN MOUNT

*Quaque iter est Latiis ad summam fascibus Albam
Excelsa de rupe procul jam conspicit urbem.*

—LUCAN, *Phar.*, III, 87

THE direct route from Rome to Grottaferrata and Monte Cavo is by the Tuscolana and the Anagnina to the Bivio and then along the road to the right, the lower road from Frascati, which passes by Grottaferrata, through Poggio Tulliano, so called from the probable existence of Cicero's villa on the hill above it to the left, and reaches the Ponte Squarciarelli, where it meets the upper road from Frascati and the road to Rocca di Papa. The tramway goes a little farther on, and, at Valle Violata, or Valle Scura, connects with a funicular railway to the village of Rocca di Papa.

From Frascati we can take the lower road, but the upper one, that passes between the Villa Aldobrandini and the Villa Conti-Torlonia, is very much more attractive. To the left is the hill of Tusculum and the vast Aldobrandini park, to the right a number of villas, mostly built on the site of ancient ones. The first one is beautifully situated and was originally built by Cardinal Acquaviva. It was bought and embellished by Cardinal Peretti, the nephew of Sixtus V, from whom it is called Montalto; it now belongs to Duke Grazioli. A little farther on is the Villa Cavalletti, which, if Colle delle Ginestre is really Cicero's villa, may be that of Gabinius; in cutting the drive to it a very interesting prehistoric cemetery was found.

We now cross the line of the Latina-Anagnina, and a little farther on we come to the entrance of the drive to that pleasant hotel, Villa di Cicerone. It stands on the Colle delle Ginestre, above Grottaferrata and Poggio Tulliano, and is surrounded by ancient remains. In the

very difficult question as to the identification of Cicero's villa, it is the least unlikely candidate. We know that it stood near that of Lucullus, but we do not know how near and whether the villa of Lucullus is really the Torlonia one. The only certain information is that it was fed by the Aqua Crabra. A little farther on we come to the Ponte Squarciarelli.

THE ABBEY OF GROTTAFERRATA

*Argolico peragentes omnia ritu
Sacra, cucullati celebrant templa ardua patres.*

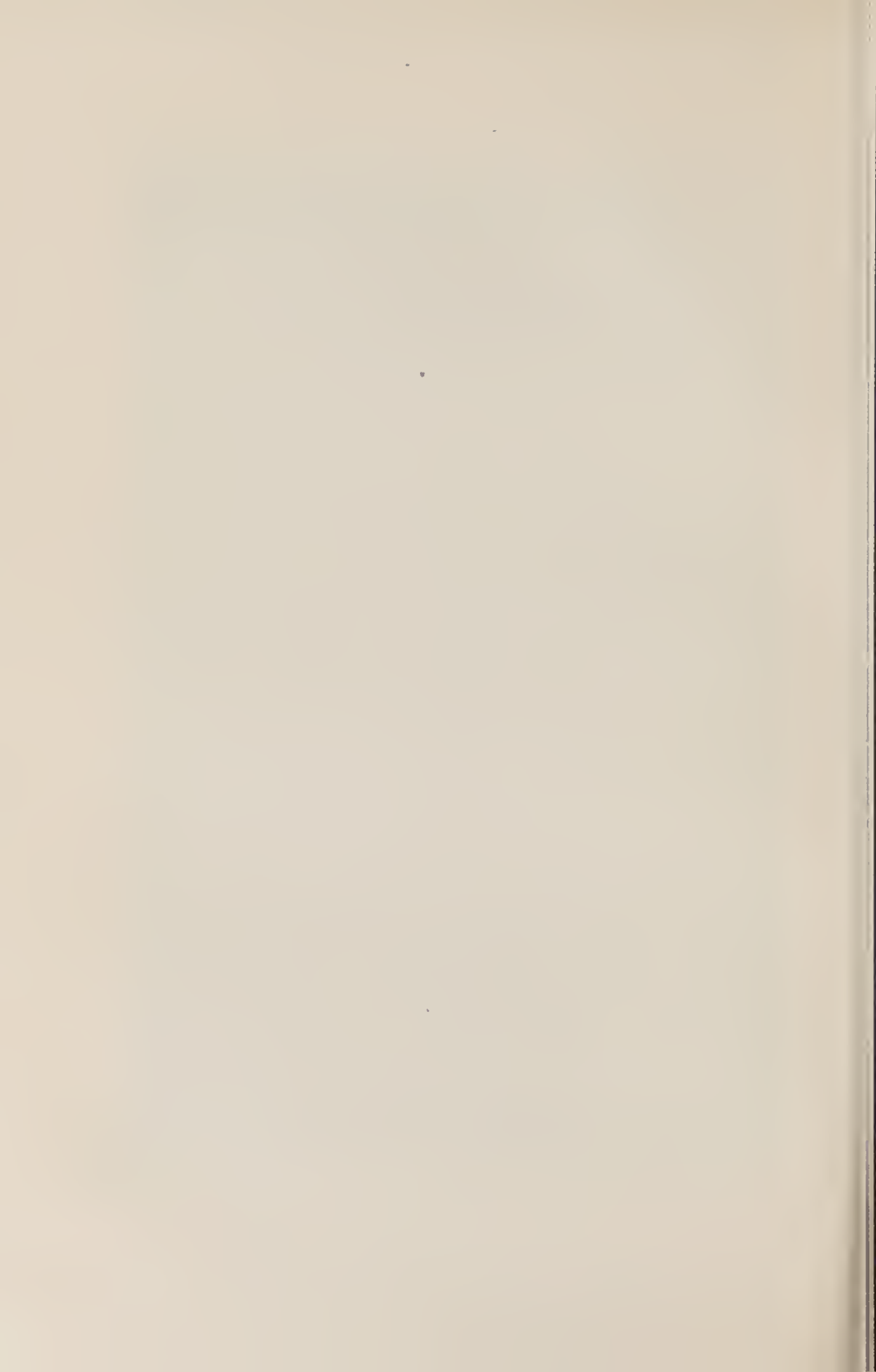
—FABRICIUS

Grottaferrata is, with Farfa and Subiaco, the most famous monastic foundation of the Roman province. Each of the three sites appeals to a different order of emotions ; at Subiaco the memories of the founder of Western monasticism are tempered by the grandeur of the scenery and by the ingenuity of later artists, whose inspiration is due to influences other than those of S. Benedict. Farfa is the outpost of the Mediaeval Church Militant, an Imperial garrison rather than a cloister, and with the passing of that vigorous if sanguinary Christianity its glory has departed. But the Abbey of Grottaferrata, youngest of the three, has increased in dignity and authority. Alone among Italian monasteries it bears witness to the spiritual unity of Christendom. Bearded monks still chant in the tongue of the Gospels, leavened bread is still used in the daily sacrifice, and the Nicene Symbol is still recited without the addition of the *Filioque*.

Though Grottaferrata is now the most important, indeed the only, Basilian monastery in Italy, it is one of the most recent. Calabria and Apulia were for long dependencies of the Eastern Empire, whose language they used and whose customs they preserved. While S. Benedict was laying the foundations of Western monasticism, southern Italy was overrun by the hirsute disciples of the hermits of the Thebaid. These followers of Pachomius and Anthony



THE ABBEY OF GROTTAFERRATA



populated the numerous caves of that mountainous region. By the tenth century the Monte Gargano, with its famous cave of S. Michael, surpassed the Holy Mount of Athos in antiquity, in sanctity, and in monastic population. Another sacred mountain existed near Rossano in Calabria, and of the ascetics who, in the tenth century, inhabited or infested its caves, none was holier or of greater austerity than Nilus, the most famous of the Greek saints of Italy. His only dress was a black goatskin, his hair and beard grew wild, and only every two or three days did he eat a little black bread. With a devoted band of followers, and binding himself by the rule of S. Basil, he wandered about Calabria founding monasteries, and teaching by his own example how the contemplative life did not mean ignorance and sloth, but either labour in the fields or the preservation and copying of ancient manuscripts.

Already advanced in years, he abandoned his native Calabria, perhaps menaced by the Saracens, and with some sixty followers went to Montecassino, where he was granted land for a settlement in the neighbourhood. The fame of his sanctity was so great that S. Adalbert of Prague, the Apostle of Bohemia and Poland, came especially from Rome to see him before returning to be martyred among the barbarians of Prussia. About this time S. Nilus is said to have gone to Rome to intercede with Otho III on behalf of the captured antipope Philagathus, an adventurer but a compatriot. His prayers were unavailing and he quitted Rome, retiring to Serperi near Gaeta. Here he was visited by Otho, who was returning from a pilgrimage to the Monte Gargano and who implored the ascetic to come to Rome—a meeting not unlike that of Diogenes and Alexander. The hermit and his followers dwelt in squalid tents, in which, however, the unfastidious and devout eye of Caesar only saw 'the tents of Israel'. But, unlike the chosen people, promises of dignities and wealth could not shake the constancy of the saint. The emperor was received as a penitent and surrendered the golden circlet with which he had been 'crowned by God'. Prudence and sanctity combined to make Nilus decline association with Otho's visionary policy, and the Germanic successor of Augustus

was forced to content himself with platitudes as to the welfare of his soul.

Three years later, in 1002, Nilus came to Rome under the protection of Gregory, Count of Tusculum. In 1004 that great noble granted him a site in the Alban hills where he might found a monastery. Cryptoferrata, Grottaferrata, was probably the name of a little chapel built on the ruins of a Roman villa. This chapel, which is still preserved, was by this time half buried, so that it may well have been considered a kind of *crypt* while its windows were closed by *iron* gratings. A pious, if untrustworthy legend relates that while the saint and his favourite disciple Bartholomew were walking along the Latin Way they were caught in a violent thunderstorm. They fled for shelter to a tiny abandoned chapel, and here the Virgin appeared to them and, handing a golden apple to S. Nilus, told him to found a monastery on the site.

S. Nilus died on September 25th, 1005, but the new church was only completed by his biographer and disciple S. Bartholomew and was consecrated by John XIX on December 17th, 1024. The all-powerful house of the Counts of Tusculum, to which this Pope belonged, continued to favour the abbey, and the relations with the Papacy became even closer under the Pontificate of Benedict IX. It is indeed said that this Pope, who had been elected while still in his teens and had not given any remarkable proofs of holiness, was converted by S. Bartholomew, and, after being expelled from Rome for the third time in 1048, became a monk and ended his days in the odour of sanctity. This edifying, if improbable, legend has recently been proved untrustworthy.

In 1088 the Abbot Nicholas was sent on a mission to the Emperor Alexius Comnenus to discuss the question of the azym, the use of unleavened bread in the Mass. By this time the Normans had occupied all southern Italy and conferred upon the abbey the patronage of many Basilian foundations in Calabria. In the twelfth century the monks were troubled by feuds with the Counts and Bishops of Tusculum, by the constant wars between Tusculum, Albano, and Rome, and by an invasion of the Normans.

It is even said that in 1163 they fled to Subiaco with the church relics.

Its strategic position on the Via Latina gave it an unenviable importance during the struggle between the Papacy and Frederic II. Here it was that on August 9th 1240 the aged Pope Gregory IX proclaimed the General Council that was to have judged the emperor, but it did not take place owing to the defeat of the Genoese fleet at the Meloria. The following year the emperor entered Latium and made the abbey his headquarters. Here he received the news of the Pope's death, and when he retired to Apulia he carried off the bronze statue of a man and of a cow that decorated the fountain of the monastery. It has been suggested that this bronze cow was the famous statue by Myron, and its memory is preserved on the coat of arms of the abbey.

In 1377 Gregory XI, who had just returned from Avignon, went on a pilgrimage to Anagni and stopped on the way at Grottaferrata. He was accompanied by Peter Amelio, the learned Bishop of Sinigallia, who, in his account of the journey, thus describes our abbey: '*Situs hic est in montibus supra mare, in lucis densosis Conventus ille est Coenobitarum Graecorum fundatus in honorem Mariae Virginis Locus est valde amoenus: distat ab Urbe decem miliaribus, circumdatus lymphis Domus est fundata supra firmam petram, licet in locis aquosis.*' The Pope was so delighted with the situation that he stopped here two days. But during the Great Schism and the constant wars of the first quarter of the fifteenth century the abbey once more became a fortress for all and for any of the armies that, like bands of brigands, overran the unfortunate district.

Matters improved when, in 1432, Eugenius IV nominated as abbot the General of the Basilians, Peter Vitali. This energetic prelate at once set about the restoration of the conventual buildings and the recovery of the estates that had been occupied by others. He was present at the Council of Florence of 1439 for the union of the Eastern and Western Churches and subscribed the decree. He also took part in the assembly of Basilians that defined the use

of the Oriental rite. At both these meetings the text of the rite was the famous 'Eucologion' that Vitali brought with him and that is still preserved in the library of the abbey.

In 1462 Pius II transformed the abbey into an abbey *in commendam*, which he conferred on the immensely learned Greek Cardinal Bessarion. In 1472 Sixtus IV conferred it on his nephew Giuliano della Rovere, who transformed it into a castle with the help of Sangallo, but was forced to abandon it in 1494, when he fled to France after the election of Alexander VI. For over half a century the abbey now became practically a possession of the Colonna family, until they were forced by the terms of peace with Paul IV in 1557 to restore it to the Holy See. Its subsequent history is less eventful. The abbots being now absentees and no longer of the same order and rite, the primitive purity of the Greek liturgy was no longer observed and a bastard mixture of the Western and Eastern rituals took its place.

These abbots *in commendam*, if unheeding of the spiritual activities of the monks, were ready to embellish both church and monastery. In 1610 Cardinal Odoardo Farnese called Domenichino to decorate the Chapel of S. Nilus. In 1626 he was succeeded by Cardinal Francesco Barberini, who presented the handsome but somewhat florid altar. For over a century the *commenda* remained in the hands of the Barberini family, the last Cardinal Barberini having managed to get possession also of the Abbeys of Farfa and of Subiaco. He was succeeded in 1738 by Cardinal Guadagni, nephew of Clement XII, who modernized the church according to 'the debased style of that period' as Baedeker would say. In 1799 the abbey was occupied by the Neapolitan army commanded by General Bourcard, who received here the envoys of the Roman Republic that had been set up under French influence and negotiated with them the terms of surrender. In 1811 Napoleon decreed the suppression of religious orders throughout his Empire, but spared Grottaferrata as being the one religious community in his dominions that used the Greek language. He was not so generous towards the

possessions of the monastery and despoiled the library of most of the valuable books.

In 1816 the famous Cardinal Consalvi, at that time abbot *in commendam*, spontaneously renounced the feudal jurisdiction, suppressing the *commendam* and thus allowing the abbey to regain its independence. In recent years it has been greatly favoured both by the State and by the ecclesiastical authority. The former has declared it a 'National monument' and has undertaken vast works of restoration; the latter, especially under Leo XIII, has restored the purity of the early rite and has raised the church to the dignity of a basilica. In this respect its importance is constantly increasing, since recent events have led the Vatican to pursue an energetic policy of reunion with the Eastern Church. At the present day most of the monks are Italian Albanians of the Greek rite, and there is also an Albanian seminary and orphanage. The abbey has still the privilege of reading the Epistle and the Gospel in Greek at a Papal High Mass.

The village, though probably of far greater antiquity than the abbey, is of no particular interest. Until the abbey was transformed *in commendam* the inhabitants of the village did not depend from it but owed allegiance to the Bishop of Tusculum. It used to be famous for its fairs, especially the one on September 8th of the Annunciation. They date at least from the fifteenth century and were favoured by very extensive privileges. The September one is still not altogether unworthy. Last but not least I must mention the wine, perhaps the best in the district.

The abbey rises like a castle at the end of a straight and uninteresting street that forms the present village. As we approach we see that it is really a castle, with a strong keep to the left of the entrance, with machicolated bastions. We cross the fosse by a bridge on the site of the old draw-bridge and enter the great court by a modern gateway. The original gate of Sangallo's Castle is to the left of the present entrance and led directly into the keep. It is a beautiful example of Renaissance work, the pilasters that

frame it being decorated with military trophies terminating in the Rovere oak. The great court, in which there is now a statue to S. Nilus, who holds in his hand the Greek crozier, was formerly used as quarters for the troops.

The entrance to the church is at the extreme left. The magnificent campanile, recently restored, is of the twelfth century and was erected by the Abbot Nicholas II in place of the original one that had been struck by lightning. A door formed of fine Roman decorative reliefs, but with an architrave belonging to the earliest building of the eleventh century, leads into the spacious narthex, which has been enlarged so as to serve as a church for the Latin rite. In the centre of the left wall of the vestibule is the main door of the church, of the eleventh century, beautifully decorated with spirals of foliage and, alternately, heads of men and of animals. On the architrave, in Byzantine epigraphical lettering, is the inscription that was originally carved over the door of the famous monastery of S. John of the Studium in Constantinople :

Οἴκου Θεοῦ μέλλοντες εἰσβαίνειν πύλην ἔξω γένοισθε τῆς μέθης
τῶν φροντίδων ἵν' εὐμενῶς εὔροιτε τὸν κριτὴν ἔσω.

Ye who would enter here the house of God
Cast out the intoxication of pride and worldly thought
That kindly ye may find the judge within.

Above it is a fine mosaic of the same date and of purely Greek style, with hardly a trace of Italian influence ; possibly the work of some Greeks who had accompanied S. Nilus. It represents Christ enthroned between the Virgin and S. John the Baptist, and with a little figure of a bearded Greek abbot, possibly S. Bartholomew, the founder of the church. Our Lord holds in His left hand a book with the inscription : *ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ θύρα· δι' ἐμοῦ ἐάν τις εἰσέλθῃ*. . . . ('I am the door : by me if any man enter in.'—John x, 9). The actual wooden doors decorated with geometrical designs are perhaps somewhat later in date ; the left half is much narrower than the right.

The first impression on entering the church is one of disappointment. Cardinal Guadagni's restoration in 1754

is an example of thoroughly bad baroque, and even the best baroque is unsuited to the Greek rite and liturgy. This is clearly demonstrated by the high altar, or *Macchina Barberiniana*, given by Cardinal Francesco Barberini in 1664 and executed by G. B. Bozolasco, which is in itself really fine and would look admirable in some church of Bernini, but is distinctly unsatisfactory here. On the front of the triumphal arch is an Italo-Byzantine mosaic of the twelfth century representing the *Etimasia*, the twelve apostles in adoration of the empty throne. Above this mosaic the removal of a portion of the later ceiling has revealed remains of frescoes of the thirteenth century. The central group of the Trinity adored by angels is interesting as the loyal Basilians' protest against their schismatic brethren.

The fine piece of Cosmatesque pavement is of the thirteenth century, and is probably a part of the embellishments added under Gregory IX, other parts of which are in the museum. In the pavement in front of the third pilaster on the right is a brief inscription marking Pope Benedict IX's tomb. The plaster piers conceal the original columns of the church of the twelfth century. The modern choir is very handsome. A lay brother will open the chapel on the right, on which rests the campanile. It consists of two small rooms with cross vaulting, built of large blocks of peperino. Though the blocks are ancient, taken no doubt from the ruins of the villa, the construction itself is certainly mediaeval, although far older than the church. It must have been the early chapel to which S. Nilus originally came. One of the small windows has still the double iron grating that may have given the name to both chapel and district.

From the right aisle we pass into the Chapel of S. Nilus with the famous frescoes of Domenichino. The chapel was probably built in the twelfth century by Abbot Nicholas II as the oratory of SS. Hadrian and Natalia; it later became the chapter house and received its present decoration under Cardinal Odoardo Farnese at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Domenico Zampieri, the Domenichino, had come to Rome as a boy with the Carracci and had assisted his masters in the decoration of the Galleria

Farnese, ordered by the same cardinal. He was now beginning to work on his own, developing and perfecting the manner of his masters, and had just finished a series of frescoes in the chapel at S. Gregorio al Celio, where he worked in collaboration with his fellow-pupil Guido Reni. He then managed to attract the unwelcome attention of the Roman police and would have been thrown into prison had not his old patron the cardinal offered him shelter at Grottaferrata, which had the right of asylum. In eighteen months, between 1609 and 1610, he completed the decoration of the chapel; the cardinal was notoriously stingy and paid him seventy-two crowns for the work, besides board and lodging.

The architecture and the decoration of the chapel were also designed by Domenichino. The Farnese lilies are the principal decorative motive, being repeated even on the altar. The frescoes, although still somewhat mannered, are the first important work of the master, being infinitely superior to his work on the Celio. The finest are those on the left wall, opposite the windows. The great scene of the meeting of S. Nilus and the Emperor Otho at Serperi is a magnificent composition no less charming in detail than effective in its distribution of masses. Still finer is the next scene of S. Nilus healing the epileptic boy, whose mouth is anointed by the saint with oil from the lamp burning before the altar. There is in this masterpiece a study of realism and a dramatic power rarely to be found in the works of the Bolognese school. The picture in the lunette above, with the translation of the body of S. Nilus, is also effective. At the other end of this wall, on the other side of the door, is another fine fresco of S. Nilus in prayer before a Crucifix that stretches out His hand to bless him. It is said that it was in contemplating this fresco that Fogazzaro first conceived the idea of 'Il Santo'. The frescoes on the opposite wall are more mannered and conventional. In the first, opposite the scene of S. Nilus in prayer, the saint is shown averting a thunderstorm by his prayers. Then comes a scene with the building of the abbey and a miracle of S. Bartholomew; one of the columns was being raised when the ropes broke, whereupon a monk

was able to sustain with his hand alone the falling monolith. Opposite the healing of the demoniac is represented the story of the giving of the golden apple to the two saints. The picture over the altar, with a charming view of the abbey, is attributed to Annibale Carracci.

A door in the right wall of the chapel leads to the monastery and the museum. After passing down a long corridor we turn to the right into the great court, of no particular architectural importance. The rooms opening on the portico were used as monastic offices and bear Greek names. A stair leads to the first floor with the library and archives. On the walls are numerous modern pictures of Greek saints. The various cells are entitled after other Eastern saints; in the one on the right bearing the name of S. Theodore Stoudites are a number of interesting books and documents; manuscripts of S. Nilus, books belonging to Bessarion, palimpsest pages of Strabo's geography, a fine fifteenth-century Byzantine binding with the double eagle, probably from the Imperial library at Constantinople, letters of Domenichino, etc.

The window at the end of this corridor offers a fine view of Marino and the immediate neighbourhood. A door on the left gives access to the famous library, a handsome room with fine walnut book-cases. Though still of considerable importance it is now but a shadow of its former self. Although at the beginning of the fifteenth century it was certainly neglected, for the Venetian orator could write in 1426 that in the Abbey there was a room dedicated *Libris et Libero Patri*, under Vitali and Bessarion it rose to great importance, being enriched by many a codex from Constantinople. But towards the end of the sixteenth century popes and abbots *in commendam* despoiled it continuously, most of the books passing to the Vatican Library.

We retrace our steps and visit the garden to the left of the church and the Palace of the Abbots. This handsome palace, begun by Giuliano della Rovere, whose coat of arms is in evidence on the capitals of the piers, and completed by the Colonna, has been attributed to Bramante, but is probably by Giuliano's favourite military architect

Baccio Pontelli. The recently restored left side of the church should be noticed ; it is chiefly of the twelfth century with some Gothic additions.

The first room of the museum has a vault frescoed in 1547 by Francesco da Siena with scenes from the wars of Hannibal, perhaps as a fulsome compliment to Cardinal Fabio Massimo Colonna. In the centre is a large majolica vase given by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. Around the walls are some pictures, a few of which are not without interest. There is an interesting water-colour, perhaps by Ghezzi, of a banquet in the abbey given by Cardinal Barberini to the Queen of Poland and ten other cardinals in 1699. There is also a small model of the palace.

The second room contains some very interesting fragments of the early church. The greater portion of these fragments belong to a Cosmatesque altar and ciborium given to the church by Pope Gregory IX, including the balustrade with the coat of arms of the Conti di Segni, to which family that Pope belonged. There is also a part of the pulpit or ambo of that date and fragments of the rose window. Portions of a still larger rose window probably come from Campovecchio. In a glass case are some of the abbatial seals, many of an early date. At the end of the room there is a pierced slab, perhaps part of a choir screen, with the Greek names of the first abbots ; it was set up in 1132 by Nicholas II, thirteenth abbot. Still earlier is the slab, perhaps of the eleventh-century choir of S. Bartholomew, with numerous monsters in relief.

The next room was the armoury of the castle and is the most important room on the ground floor. In the centre is the most interesting monument in the museum, the famous baptismal font. The reliefs that decorate its surface are symbolical of baptism and its effects. Two fishermen are seated on a rock on which is carved a gateway. On the left is a high column from which another nude figure is casting itself headlong into the sea. The water seems to come from a pitcher held by a large nude figure to the right. Symbolically, of course, it may allude to the old rite by immersion from whence the faithful are drawn by

the fishers of men and prevented from passing through the gates of hell. It is probably of the eleventh century, but the extreme symbolism and the use of the nude, both unusual at that date, have led some authorities to attribute it to the fifth century. In the centre case, in front of the window, is a Homophorion, a magnificent example of Byzantine embroidery, which belonged in 1618 to Theophanes, the Metropolitan of Patras. In another centre case are some reliquaries and a fine paten and chalice, the gift of Bessarion. There is a small collection of coins and numerous copies of Byzantine works, including casts of ivories.

A few steps lead into the guard-room of the keep, in which are some Roman and Greek inscriptions and a number of altars and cinerary urns. There is also a small relief with the Good Shepherd. Some wall-cases contain objects from early tombs of Latium, including a vase of Rhodian ware. In the fifth room is the collection of Greek and Roman sculpture. In the centre of the wall opposite the window is the chief treasure of the museum, the lovely tomb stele of a seated youth, reading from an open scroll. It is a masterpiece of Attic art of the fifth century B.C., closely reflecting the style of the sculptures of the Parthenon. In the dearth of original sculpture of this period in Rome this relief, with its exquisite execution and tender sentiment, is doubly valuable. On the wall to the left is an interesting Roman relief which can be completed by means of another portion in the Colonna Palace in Rome, and represents Greek warriors carrying the naked body of some hero. There are numerous fragments of sarcophagi, including one of the Sidamara type, and the lower part of a basalt statue of a Pharaoh of the nineteenth or twentieth Dynasty. In the next room are a series of objects found during the construction of the tramway line, together with some prehistoric weapons from the vicinity. There is also a fine sarcophagus front decorated with festoons and lions. In the last room are a number of architectural fragments from the neighbouring villas.

The whole abbey rests on the foundations of a villa, long thought to be that of Cicero, and the important remains

of its cryptoporticus may be seen by descending into the valley or marrana. The water that flows in the valley at the present day is the Aqua Julia, which has its chief springs just below the Ponte Squarciarelli, while just above that bridge are the springs of the Crabra that supplied Cicero's villa on the Colle delle Ginestre. In the valley, supplied with power by the stream, are some ironworks, almost opposite the abbey, and a little higher up a paper mill. Both these local industries are of the greatest antiquity, the ironworks probably being older than the abbey itself, so that some scholars have thought that they gave the name to the whole locality.

Considerable remains of ancient villas are also to be seen all over the slopes of the hill on the other side of the marrana, in the district between the abbey and Marino. The one at the present Casale Campovecchio belonged to the Iunii Silani, while above it is a very large one at Formagrotta.

ROCCA DI PAPA AND MONTE CAVO

Et residens celsa Latiaris Jupiter Alba.

—LUCAN, *Phar.*, I, 198

From the Ponte Squarciarelli we take the very steep road that climbs up the side of the hill. It is entirely modern: the ancient one was probably a good deal farther north and there are some remains of villas but not of any great importance. As we climb we get into the woods; in the valley to the north, the Valle Arcioni, are some imposing remains of an aqueduct. The last portion of the road is very steep and emerges on the lower square of the village, just above the tramway station and the great new hotel that overlooks the Alban lake.

Rocca di Papa is only a few feet lower than Rocca Priora, the highest village in the Alban hills, and, since it is very accessible from Rome, it is a favourite spot for the *villeggiatura*. It is the ancient Cabum, one of the thirty cities of the Latin League, and its name in Imperial times

was given to a sacerdotal college. The origin of the present name is quite uncertain, perhaps a corruption of Cabum, and need have nothing to do with the dominion of the Holy See. It was a castle of the Counts of Tusculum, from whom it passed to the Church. During the fourteenth century it belonged to the Annibaldi, who in 1425 sold it to the Colonna, who held it with some intervals to the present day. It was besieged and taken after a heavy bombardment by Pierluigi Farnese in 1541 and the castle was then dismantled.

The village contains little of interest. The principal church was rebuilt after an earthquake in 1809 which had so seriously damaged the earlier building that it collapsed in 1814. The interior is quite handsome; to the right of the nave is a cast of the Pietà, by Wilhelm Achterman, that is in Münster Cathedral. The sculptor, who was one of the more academic pupils of Canova and a friend and contemporary of Thorwaldsen, gave the cast himself since he was in the habit of passing the summer here. In the next chapel is a picture of the Redeemer, probably by Perin del Vaga, and near the high altar a pretty Renaissance ciborium of 1517. The picture in the left transept, the Assumption, is by Giacchino Corrado (1739) and is of very considerable merit. There is also a Sienese Madonna of the fourteenth century.

On a rock above the village are the scanty ruins of the Colonna castle, which was probably built on the site of the Arx of Cabum. The people who inhabit the quarter just below it are quite distinct from the other villagers and are much disliked by them. They are usually fair and are called *Bavaresi* (Bavarians); it is probable that they are descendants of the Bavarian troops that accompanied the Emperor Louis the Bavarian in 1328. Behind the castle is a wide plain, called Campi di Annibale, a name which probably derives from the Annibaldi, since the tradition that Hannibal stopped here during his march on Rome is absolutely devoid of truth. It is obviously an ancient crater and there is a great stream of petrified lava which has the curious property of reversing the needle of a compass. In walking round this district it is interesting

to observe all the different stratifications of volcanic rocks, and it is the seat of the Roman seismological observatory.

From the Campi di Annibale a path (guide unnecessary) leads past some huts up to Monte Cavo. The path itself is modern, but after a short distance we find the well-preserved remains of the pavement of the ancient Via Triumphalis at a little shrine. This road, which, as we shall see, comes from the Via Appia, was the one used by the processions to the Alban mount and for the minor 'triumphs' which were celebrated here. The ascent is on the whole easy and well shaded and the vegetation in the spring delightful. It is one of the prettiest walks in the Campagna.

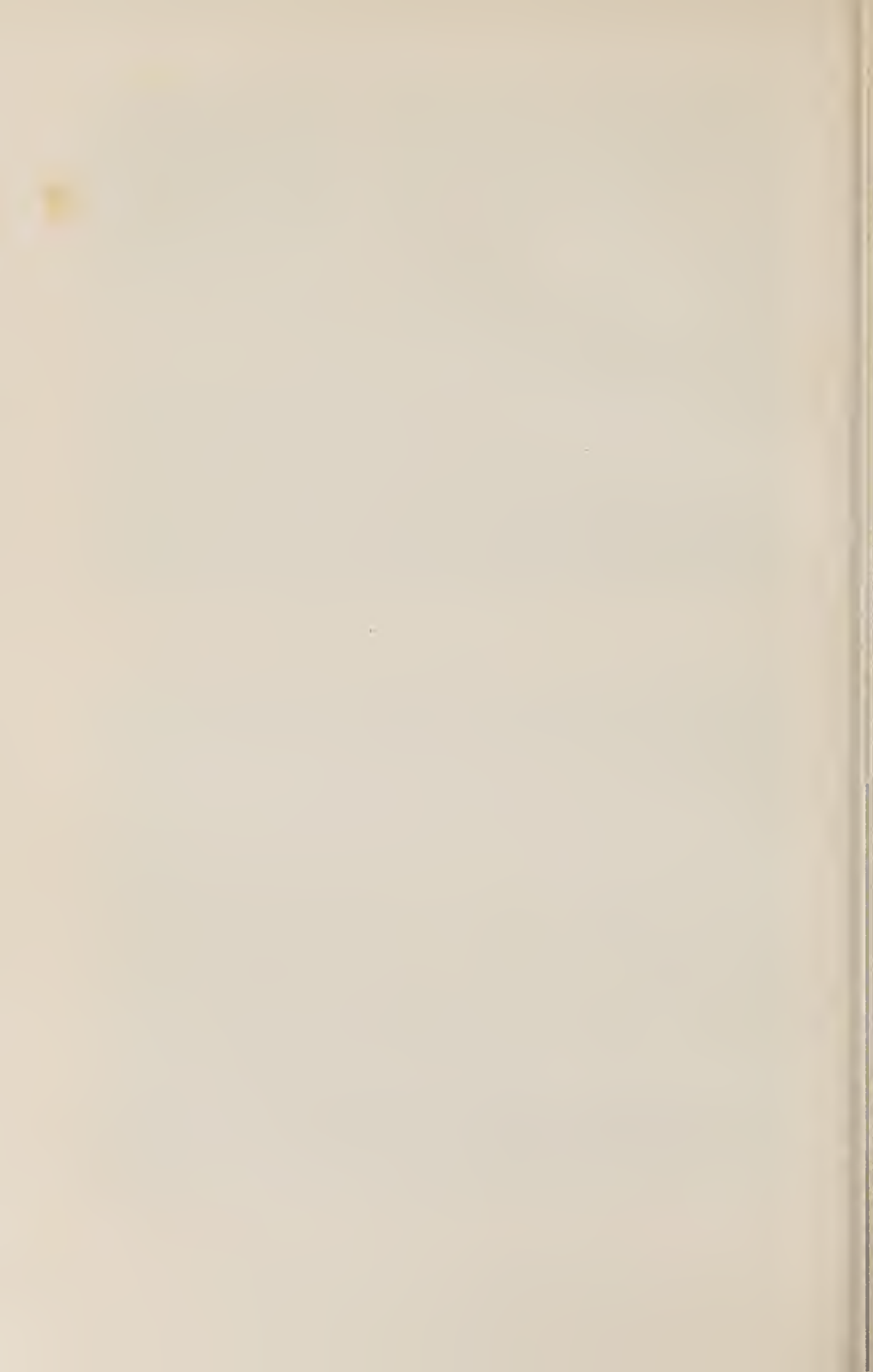
On the summit of the Alban mount was the Temple of Jupiter Latiaris, the great federal sanctuary of the Latin people. Annual sacrifices were performed here, and the *Feriae Latinae* take us back to the very origins of the Latin race, long before Rome was founded or assumed the leadership of the League. The sacrifice was held usually in April and the exact date had to be announced by the consuls when they entered office. The consuls had to be present in person, leaving a *praefectus urbi* in Rome, or, if they were unavoidably absent, a dictator might be appointed for the express purpose of conducting the festival. The consul would offer a libation of milk and the deputies of the other cities brought individual offerings. The culminating ceremony was the sacrifice, by the consul, of a white heifer that had never felt the yoke. The flesh was then divided among the representatives of the various cities, and during this period there was a general truce and the treaties between Rome and the cities were renewed or confirmed. The general character of the festival seems to point to its having been instituted in a pastoral rather than an agricultural age, and the absence of the use of wine has led to the supposition that its origin is earlier than the introduction of the vine. The festival continued to be celebrated even when the population of many of the Latin towns had been so reduced that they had considerable difficulty in finding a representative. The temple itself was said to have been founded by the Tarquins, but,



MONTE CAVO AND ROCCA DI PAPA FROM TUSCULUM (*p.* 144)



THE VIA TRIUMPHALIS (*p.* 147)



except for a few large blocks of stone, it has entirely disappeared. The Cardinal of York has often been charged with destroying the remains of this venerable sanctuary in order to build the present monastery, but the remains were very scanty even in his time. Excavations conducted here even recently have not given satisfactory results, and it is very probable that it was never an actual building, but rather a sacred enclosure with a number of small shrines.

Even the recent construction of a road to the summit has not yet succeeded in spoiling Monte Cavo, and on a fine spring day one can almost imagine Juno taking up her stand here to observe the battle between the Trojans and the Latins in the great plain below. The modern name is Monte Cavo, a corruption of the ancient name of Cabum, which, as we have seen, is the present Rocca di Papa; it is frequently but erroneously called 'Monte Cave', from the idea that the origin of the name must be sought in the quarries that have been cut in the side of the hill.

The descent should be made by the ancient road, the lower portion of which, from the chapel downwards, has recently been excavated. It was the ancient Via Albana, perhaps also called Triumphalis, since it was followed by the procession of those generals who had been denied the honour of celebrating a regular triumph in Rome. The most famous instance is that of Marcellus, after the capture of Syracuse. The road is now one of the best-preserved ancient roads in Italy; some of the blocks have either an N or a V cut on them, possibly an indication by a contractor to distinguish the new (*novum*) parts of the road from the old (*vetus*). The gradient is in places very steep, and the stretch below the foot of the hill has a curiously tortuous course, a probable sign of great antiquity. It led to the Via Appia at Aricia and has been excavated right up to the crossing with the carriage road at a short distance from that village, from which one can take a tram back to Rome. A carriage road has now been constructed on this side right up to the summit, much to the regret of all the lovers of the inviolable beauty of one of the most famous hills in Italy.

The road from Rocca di Papa to Ariccia over the ridge that separates the Lake of Albano from that of Nemi is also very attractive. Some distance from the village we come to the Santuario della Madonna del Tufo, with a terrace before it whence one enjoys a magnificent view over the Campagna and the Alban Lake. The church was founded, according to a legend, by a wayfarer who, seeing a great mass of tufa about to fall on him, prayed to the Virgin, who miraculously stopped the stone. This piece of rock was later enclosed in the church and an image of Our Lady was painted on it, probably by Antoniazio Romano, but it has been so repainted and restored that none of the original work can be seen. A little farther on the new road to the summit turns off on the left.

The road leads down through beautiful woods to Ariccia which we enter behind the Chigi Palace. The gate of the city is slightly oblique to the present line of the road and is quite possibly built on the site of one of the gates of the ancient acropolis, since it corresponds to the line of the road to Monte Cavo. Near the modern sanatorium is a large quarry with some interesting Roman tombs.

We must now return to the Ponte Squarciarelli to examine the last section of the road between Frascati and Castel Gandolfo. The modern road passes few objects of interest and runs rather to the south of the ancient one, which it joins just after the cemetery. A little farther on it reaches the upper portion of the small town of Marino. This is the ancient Castrimoenium, an early Latin city that, however, is not often mentioned in history. In early times it was probably overshadowed by the neighbouring Alba Longa, but it was approached by a special road, the Castrimoeniensis, on the line of the present railway. Under Sulla it was fortified and its territory was assigned to veterans by Nero. Its importance was far greater in the Middle Ages; the origin of the name is uncertain, but it may perhaps be derived from the inhabitants of Morena on the Via Latina, who may have fled here after the Counts of Tusculum built Borghetto. In the thirteenth century it belonged to the Frangipane, but it soon passed to the Orsini, who were besieged here in vain by the Ghibelline

supporters of Conradin in 1267. In 1302 they received here the outlawed Sciarra Colonna, who was preparing the plot against Boniface VIII. It was attacked, but again without much success, by Cola di Rienzo. On April 30th 1379 a great battle was fought below Marino between the Breton mercenaries of the antipope Clement VII, led by his nephew the Count of Montjoie, and the Italian troops of Urban VI, led by Alberigo da Barbiano with his famous band of mercenaries, the Compagnia di S. Giorgio. The victory of the Italians was complete, Castel S. Angelo which the antipope was trying to relieve, had to capitulate, and it was celebrated in Italy as the first national success. The names Casale dei Francesi and Valle dei Morti in the territory below the town may be reminiscences of this battle. Towards the end of the century the castle passed for a short time to the Caetani and in 1419 to the Colonna, who possessed it till a few years ago. It was one of the most important centres of the Colonna power and followed the history of the family. It was captured during the successive wars by Eugenius IV, Sixtus IV, and Alexander VI, and in 1501 the castle was completely destroyed. Until the end of the eighteenth century, when Pius VI restored the line of the Appia across the Pontine marshes, the importance of Marino was very great, since the posting road ran through it and on to Palazzola, Velletri, and Terracina along the side of the mountains, a line which is probably the ancient one before the construction of the Appia. The castle was again captured and injured during the campaign of Paul III against the Colonna and Philip II. It was the birthplace of Vittoria Colonna, the wife of Pescara, the victor of the battle of Pavia, and from here Marcantonio Colonna moved along the Via Appia for his triumph after the victory of Lepanto. In 1912 the Colonna family granted its properties in the town on a perpetual lease to the community of Marino.

To the south of the village, crossed in part by the road to Castel Gandolfo, is the magnificent park formerly belonging to the Colonna; some authorities place here the *Lucus Ferentinus*, and the spring at the top of the valley

would be the Caput Aquae Ferentinae. This was the site of the meetings of the Latin League, which were held as late as 340 B.C., and must have been in a conveniently central position near Alba Longa. The objections raised to this identification do not seem to me valid. There is only one of weight, and that is that we know that Attius Tullius had a secret meeting with several Volscian chiefs in the grove. Ashby therefore considers that it must have been near the later Via Appia and proposes to situate it near Aricia (*P.B.S. V*, 279). But it is very probable that the ancient road to the Volscian country ran to the east of the two lakes, above Palazzola and Nemi, to Velletri, and then Marino would be perfectly convenient for the Volscians. Lower down the valley, almost opposite the railway station, are extensive peperino quarries which have been worked since Roman times.

Marino itself contains little of interest since almost all traces of the old castle have disappeared. There is a picturesque mediaeval quarter round the former Church of S. Lucia, the oldest in Marino, which was probably founded in the thirteenth century and restored by the Colonna at the beginning of the fifteenth; some fragments of its decorations are in the small Museo Comunale. From the tram halt the main road with some handsome palaces leads to the main square with the cathedral, dedicated to S. Barnabas, a fine building of the seventeenth century, whence one has a magnificent view over the Campagna. The interior contains a handsome monument to Cardinal Girolamo Colonna, with a statue attributed to Mochi or to Bernini, and a picture of the martyrdom of S. Bartholomew after designs by Guercino. Near it is a charming fountain with a column, four Moorish prisoners, and a number of sirens, all allusive to the Colonna family and the battle of Lepanto. The former Colonna Palace itself is a somewhat gloomy building which was never finished.

The road from Marino to the Appia Nuova near the Frattocchie crosses an interesting portion of country, thickly covered with ancient remains. In the valley to the north of the town are considerable remains of mediaeval fortifications, and beyond it, on the hill, was a large castle

built on the remains of an ancient villa, called Castel de' Paoli. To the west was another smaller castle, which has now almost entirely disappeared, known as Tor Ser Paolo. It stands on the platforms of a very large villa, in which a great number of antiquities have been found and which perhaps belonged to Mamurra, the favourite of Caesar, whose estate appears to have passed into the hands of the emperors. The modern road runs along the line of the ancient one just to the west of the railway track, but after a little way bends sharply to the west to join the Appia Nuova. At the turn, and just before the railway, is the site of a large villa which probably belonged to Voconius Pollio. On the other side of the road is the Casale dei Francesi, which, as we have said, may be the site of the great defeat of the Breton mercenaries of the antipope Clement VII. Just behind the station of Frattocchie we can see the remains of an ancient tomb, and some hundred yards farther on we reach the Appia Nuova.

CHAPTER VIII

THE VIA LABICANA-CASILINA

THIS is the great modern high-road to Naples that has taken the place of the Appia and the Latina, following, outside the Campagna Romana, the general direction of the latter. The first portion of the road, up to Torrenova, is known as the Labicana and follows the line of the ancient road that led to Labicum, the present Monte Compatri. After Torrenova the modern road is called the Via Casilina, since it abandons the Labicana, whose course can only be traced with difficulty across the fields. It has been suggested that the Via Labicana was originally the direct route from Rome to Tusculum. After Colonna the modern road follows the general direction of the Via Labicana, which, near the station of Segni, was joined by the Via Latina, whose route it continued till it joined the Appia at Casilinum near Capua. Up to S. Cesareo it is flanked by the Roma-Fiuggi-Frosinone electric tramway (Ferrovie Vicinali: station to the right of the main railway station), which continues on to Palestrina, Fiuggi, Alatri, and Frosinone; after S. Cesareo by the Rome-Naples railway. It is the quickest way to reach Palestrina (p. 191).

The Via Labicana is the right-hand road outside Porta Maggiore. For a short distance it runs through the squalid modern suburb, then turns sharply to the left to cross the Rome-Naples railway. The arches of the Aqua Felice, built into the remains of the Claudia and the Anio Novus, become visible on the right. A little beyond the bridge a road to the right (Vicolo del Mandrione) passes under the railway and, following the aqueducts, joins the Tuscolana at Porta Furba. All the district to the right was the area of the Horti Variani, later the property of Elagabalus and of the Imperial Fisc. In the portion near the aqueduct

was the circus, and a tablet on one of the arches commemorates the removal of the obelisk, now in the gardens of the Pincio, that was set up by Hadrian in memory of Antinous. All this district has been greatly changed in recent years by the growth of the city.

We now pass through a rapidly growing suburb and a few hundred yards farther on, near the large modern parish church on the left and at the third milestone of the ancient road, is Tor Pignattara, the tomb of S. Helena. It was built by Constantine in a portion of the Imperial estates called *ad duas lauros*, near the Basilica and Cemetery of SS. Peter and Marcellinus, and is a round building of over sixty-five feet in diameter which originally stood in the middle of a square surrounded by porticoes. The interior is occupied by the Chapel of SS. Peter and Marcellinus, now supplanted by the neighbouring church. The round wall that supports the dome is internally decorated with eight large niches, alternately rectangular and curved. In the rectangular one opposite the entrance, occupied by the altar of the chapel, stood the great porphyry sarcophagus now in the Vatican, with a silver altar before it. A stairway cut in the thickness of the wall to the left of the central niche led to the gallery round the drum of the dome. The interior was lit by large windows above the niches, while the dome itself is made of concrete lightened by the insertion of earthenware jars (*pignatte*), clearly visible from the outside, which gave the place its modern name.

In the immediate neighbourhood was the burial-ground of the *Equites Singulares*, the Imperial Horse-Guards, some of whose tombstones, showing the deceased walking behind his caparisoned horse, are built into the walls of the sacristy.

In order to visit the catacombs it is necessary to obtain permission and key from the Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, Piazza della Pigna 14. They contain the interesting crypt of the martyrs, an underground chapel with the tombs in the centre so as to serve as an altar, many paintings of saints, Eucharistic banquets, a marriage feast of Cana and an Adoration of the Magi.

The famously obscure Santi Quattro Coronati were buried here.

We now come to the station and military aerodrome of Centocelle, the construction of which destroyed the remains of the principal part of the villa *ad duas lauros*, where Valentinian was murdered in A.D. 455. It was later the suburbican See Sub Augusta. The road descends sharply into the Fosso di Centocelle. At the bottom of the descent to the right is the Casale di Centocelle built into a circular brick building with a domed roof and niches. Nearby was discovered the tomb of the Haterii, the decorations of which are in the Lateran Museum.

To the right a track leads to the lofty Torre di S. Giovanni, a name due to the fact that all the district once belonged to the Lateran Chapter. It is of the thirteenth century and was originally part of an extensive system of fortifications. It is surrounded by stone pines and commands a magnificent view, especially of the long stretch of the Aqua Alexandrina, the aqueduct built by Alexander Severus on the other side of the Via Labicana. It is an admirable place for picnics.

Continuing along the road we pass some tombs and reservoirs and turn slightly to the left as we ascend the hill; the ancient road passed through a cutting on the right, still visible though recently much altered by a quarry at whose entrance the remains of a tomb may be seen. After it we come to the station of Torre Spaccata. The road to the right leads to the Tuscolana, passing, some hundred yards from the Labicana, behind the apse of a mediaeval chapel dedicated to S. Maura, and some scanty remains of tombs.

The road to the left leads to the Via Prenestina, a little beyond the villa of the Gordians. It descends into a valley spanned by the arches of the Aqua Alexandrina, especially well preserved on the left, where the water-channel is partly cut in the ridge that separates this portion from the more extensive section towards Centocelle. It is a good point at which to observe the Roman aqueduct system. On one of the piers there is a large mass of calcareous deposit formed by the water leaking from the channel

above. To the right of the road on the other side of the valley is the Casa Calda, with remains of a strong mediaeval fortress, and beyond it the ruined Tor Spaccata. The view is beautiful, especially towards sunset; it is another excellent spot for a picnic.

The Via Labicana continues its course, passing a few ruined tombs and reservoirs on the left. It cuts through the platform of a villa and on the other side of the cutting, to the right, is the ruin of a brick tomb with windows. The road descends into the Fosso del Giardinetto. At some distance to the left are the mediaeval ruins of the Due Torri. One of the towers is still standing but almost split in two, the other has fallen. The road crosses the stream over a modern bridge. To the right is the ancient one in fine masonry. A few hundred yards farther on we come to the large fortified farm-house of TORRENOVA, beautifully surrounded by trees and pines.

This estate formed part of the extensive properties of the Cenci family that were confiscated by the papal government after the trial and condemnation of Beatrice and her accomplices. The descendants made many unsuccessful efforts to recover it. The present buildings, as the name indicates, are of recent construction.

Inside the property, at some distance to the south-west, are the remains of a sixteenth-century nymphaeum, belonging to some pleasure-house of the Cenci. It consists of a kind of island surrounded by water-channels, now very much ruined. One room is still tolerably preserved, with some figures in chiaroscuro and two statues in peperino. The ivy that mantles it, the position and the memories of Beatrice Cenci, who must often have come here in her youth, make the spot a delightful oasis in what is a somewhat dull stretch of country.

After Torrenova the modern Casilina leaves the line of the ancient Labicana, which continued up the side of the Alban hills towards Tusculum and Monte Compatri. It can be followed on foot throughout, but it is not always easy to find, and the spread of cultivation in recent years does not improve the going. The modern high-road keeps to the left and, although the present track is certainly

modern, it probably follows more or less the line of an ancient road. It is frequently crossed by new roads that run along the bottom of the valleys, and cuts through several villa platforms, while others lie on either side, but especially to the left. On the left we pass the Tor Bella Monaca, so called from a family Monaci, and cross the Fosso of the same name over the Ponte della Catena.

A little farther on, after this bridge, a road on the right leads to the Via Tuscolana. Its first portion is modern and of no interest, but it falls into the old Via Cavona near Tor Forama, a mediaeval tower built on an ancient reservoir. The Via Cavona is the old Roman road that ran along the foot of the Alban hills and connected the various roads from Rome. The present portion is the only one now suited to motor traffic. The road runs south-east and we very soon pass a reservoir on the high ground to the left. A little farther on we cross the line of the old Labicana. If we walk down into the valley on the right we shall find many traces of ancient tombs and villas and a large but plundered Christian cemetery, the catacomb of S. Zoticus, which has given the valley its unsavoury name of Valle della Morte, or dei Morti. Continuing along the Cavona, we soon come to the Casale Marchese (name on the gate on the left), behind which is a large volcanic depression called Pantano Secco. This is the best site for the famous Lake Regillus near which the Romans fought a battle celebrated with perhaps equal felicity and inaccuracy by Livy and Macaulay.

Continuing the Via Casilina we pass the remains of a large villa on the right and in half a mile we reach the Osteria del Finocchio, an important road-centre both in ancient and modern times. The track on the right is the beginning of the Via Cavona which we have just described. Then the road to the right follows an ancient line and leads to Frascati, passing many ancient remains of interest. Just before reaching the track to Casale Corvio it passes a villa platform on the left, and then crosses the Fosso di Fontana Candida and reaches the valley of Prata Porci, a name probably derived from some estates of the Gens Porcia and the site of the great battle of Tusculum (see

p. 123). Here it crosses the line of the ancient Via Labicana and that of the Aqua Marcia ; to the right, on a hill, are the remains of a reservoir. We now come to a *fontanile* ; in the valley to the right are many remains of villas, one of which seems to have belonged to Laenas Pontianus, consul in A.D. 131 ; in the valley to the left are also many ancient remains. A little farther on we cross the line of the Claudia and of the Anio Novus, and then, still on the right, we see the Grotte dello Stingo, the substructures of an ancient villa. We now come to the cutting of the railway ; to the left is a very large villa platform which has been without reason attributed to the Porcii and to L. Verus. In it was found in 1761 the famous 'Sardanapalus' of the Vatican ; to the right of the road is a reservoir. After crossing the railway the modern road bends to the right while the ancient one went straight up the hill, passing below the large tomb on the left known as the Torre della Bella Pisana. About half-way up the modern road a track leads off to the Colle Spinetti on the right, just above the loop of the Frascati railway. This hill is occupied by the remains of a very large villa, which we know, from the pipes found here, belonged to Tiberius during the period when he was living with Julia (9-1 B.C.). The carriage road then reaches the road between Frascati and Colonna just below the Barco di Borghese.

Returning to the Casilina we find, almost opposite the Osteria del Finocchio, another road, also following an ancient line, which leads to the Osteria dell' Osa. These two roads are thus extremely useful to the traveller by providing a direct line of communication between Frascati and Tivoli. The Casilina now descends into the great basin known as Pantano (see p. 186) ; the tramway station of that name is the most convenient one for walkers who wish to visit Gabii. Shortly after the station the road turns to the south-east and begins a long ascent to Colonna. The hill to the left is Monte Falcone, which has been quarried into a kind of crater, the Laghetto di Colonna, on the side towards the road. Above it are some remains of an extensive villa, probably belonging to Q. Pompeius Falco, who gave his name to the hill. On the other side of the road

there is another villa platform. The rock is basaltine lava, and the extensive quarries to be seen here supply the material for the pavements of modern Rome. About half a mile beyond the station we cross the line of the Claudia and the Anio Novus ; in the valley to the left are interesting remains of a small Roman dam, reached from the Casale delle Cave. After another mile we reach the Osteria della Colonna, in ancient times a road-centre of some importance. A very steep road leads from here to the village of Colonna on the lofty hill on the right.

COLONNA itself, despite its magnificent situation, does not appear to occupy an ancient site. After the abandonment of Labici (the present Monte Compatri, which can be seen on the slopes of the Alban hills to the south), a city grew up at the fifteenth milestone of the ancient road which passed at the foot of the hill to the south. It had municipal rights and was known as *Respublica Labicanorum Quintanensium*, since it stood *Ad Quintanas*, the first posting-station on the *Via Labicana*. But we shall see its ruins at the foot of the hill ; in the village itself there are no ancient and few mediaeval remains. Its decadence must have begun comparatively late, since it was a bishopric till the beginning of the twelfth century, and took precedence of Tusculum. It is first mentioned in a document of 1047, but the name is probably derived from that of the family, a branch of the Counts of Tusculum, and not vice versa. Its subsequent history during the Middle Ages is that of the Colonna family. In later times it belonged to the Zagarolo branch (see p. 189), and thus passed to the Ludovisi and the Rospigliosi. The baronial palace still belongs to the latter family but the estates have passed to the Duca di Gallese as heir of the Altemps.

If, instead of going up into the village, we take the road to Frascati, which branches off to the left before the cemetery, we come, at the first curve to the right, to the site of the Roman city, which is fixed by a very large tomb of concrete in the vineyards. The district crossed by this road is interesting for the number of ancient remains ; almost every farm-house is built over a villa or a reservoir. Just before reaching the road leading to the railway

station we see, on the left, at le Cappellette, a great villa platform decorated with niches. On the other side of the road the Casale Ciuffa is built over a reservoir. Many other villas remain on the slopes of the hill of Monte Compatri, to the left. After about a mile we come to the Grotta Pallotta, the ruins of a pleasure-house built by Cardinal Pallotta in the seventeenth century, on the site of a large villa, probably belonging to Iulius Cornutus Tertullus, Pliny's colleague in the consulship. Farther on, and to the right, is the Vigna Palmieri, or Casale Celli, built over an important villa with mosaic pavements. A track leads down to Fontana Candida on the railway line, which cuts through the remains of a villa, perhaps that of Silius Italicus. We are now below Monte Porzio, and the remaining portion of the road does not present any special interest until, just before entering the town, we pass the great platform of the Barco di Borghese on the left.

We must now continue the Casilina, which rises uneventfully for another four miles. At the station of S. CESAREO the road on the right leads to Monte Compatri and is followed by the Castelli tramway. The name of S. Cesareo is due to the fact that this is the site of the villa of Julius Caesar, in the territory of Labici, in which he drew up his will on September 13th of the year preceding his death. It remained Imperial property and in very late times was known as Ad Statuas, probably from the number of ancient statues that were still to be seen here. The present Rospigliosi villa only contains a few ancient fragments, but in the valley behind it are ruined reservoirs and a large hall, built of *opus mixtum* of the time of Constantine, which is probably a nymphaeum. Other remains can be seen to the right of the modern high-road at the bottom of the valley. A short distance beyond this point the road divides; the branch on the right is the high-road to Naples and continues the Casilina, the one on the left, which is followed by the Fiuggi tram, is the Via Prenestina Nuova.

We shall first follow the latter and then return to the Casilina. The Prenestina Nuova follows undoubtedly the line of an ancient road which was probably built as a

quicker route between Rome and Praeneste. The modern road crosses the railway to Cassino and Naples. In the tufa cliffs on the left may be seen the doorway of a small rock-cut chapel. A road on the left leads in a few minutes to Zagarolo (see p. 189). The road rises and then continues over the wide plain at the foot of Palestrina. Several well-preserved sections of ancient pavement are visible to the right of the road. We soon reach the long, straight road, the Olmata di Palestrina, which comes from the Casilina and the railway station. We continue straight on till we come to the Chapel of S. Rocco, where we continue the line of the road and do not turn up to the left to Palestrina (see p. 191). After the little bridge known as Ospedaletto, we see on the left the extensive remains of a large villa platform, just before the Chapel of the Madonna delli Cori, whence a road on the right leads to Valmontone. The road now enters a very picturesque gorge and all the district is still well wooded. After a couple of miles we reach the village of CAVE, beautifully situated on a rocky spur. Its name derives from the number of ancient quarries of tufa to be found in the district and under the village itself. Though one of the oldest castles in the Roman Campagna (it is first mentioned in 971), it cannot be identified with any ancient site. It first belonged to the Church, then to the Annibaldi; during the fourteenth century it was constantly passing from that family to the Colonna and back, usually as part of a dowry. Under Martin V it passed permanently into the hands of the Colonna Dukes of Paliano. On September 13th 1557 peace was signed here between Cardinal Carafa, who commanded the papal troops, and the Duke of Alva, putting an end to the war between Paul IV and Philip II. The Pope had been supported by Henry II of France, who sent him the Duke de Guise with an army, but he had to be recalled to France after Philip's victory at St. Quentin. The Colonna, who, as Constables of the Kingdom of Naples, had naturally sided with the Spaniards and had been deprived by the Pope of their marquisate, were reinstated in all their former possessions.

A little outside the village, beyond the railway station

and to the left across the track is the Church of S. Carlo, with two very interesting marble columns which come from the Church of S. Lorenzo and are now used as candlesticks. They appear to be a ninth-century imitation of late Roman spiral columns, like those given by Constantine for the iconostasis in St. Peter's. The shafts are decorated with bands of ornament. The Church of S. Lorenzo is about half a mile from the church, along the road to the right, and contains some interesting frescoes which have been ruined by later restorations. The right aisle is still the original Romanesque building, but all the left side was rebuilt in Gothic. The high altar was consecrated in 1093 by Hugo, Bishop of Praeneste, a creature of the antipope Clement III. There is an interesting fresco of the Last Supper to the right of the door, and a curious underground chapel. On the hills above the village on the north are the remains of the Castle of Rocca di Cave, supposed to have been founded on an ancient beacon which indicated to mariners the position of the Temple of Fortune.

A few miles farther on we come to the beautifully situated village of GENAZZANO, another fief of the Colonna and the birthplace of the only pope of that family, Martin V. To reach it we must leave the high-road and enter by the Porta Romana. The first church is that of S. Croce, with much restored frescoes of the thirteenth century; that of S. Paolo has a good campanile, while that of S. Nicola still preserves its Cosmatesque pavement. Near the latter, in the main street of the town, is the palace, wrongly attributed to Martin V, which is a magnificent example of Aragonese Gothic of the fifteenth century. To the right of the main street is the sanctuary of the Madonna del Buon Consiglio, one of the most famous in Latium. The image is supposed to have flown here from Scutari in Albania in 1467. Two pilgrims, flying from the Turks, went to pray before an image in Scutari which had appeared there at the time that the Holy House had been transported to Loreto. But they only found a white cloud that led them on, across the Adriatic, to Rome. Here it disappeared, but a short time afterwards the two pilgrims heard that at Genazzano an image of the Madonna had

been found on a wall of a church that was being torn down. They hastened to see it and of course recognized it at once. It seems rather hard to believe that the image, with the whole of the world to choose from, should have really selected Genazzano as a permanent residence, but the two feasts on April 25th and September 8th are the greatest and most characteristic in the region, and attract a host of pilgrims. The treasure of the church is very valuable. In the highest part of the town is the imposing Colonna Palace, considerable portions of which are still of the fifteenth century; the loggia on the east is of the time of the Borgias who for a few years were its lords. To the north-east are the remains of an extensive villa, which may have belonged to a *gens* Genucia, who gave their name to the village. The road to the north leads past the little Church of S. Pio with a very pretty cloister and climbs into the hills to the beautifully situated S. VITO ROMANO (over 2,000 feet). It commands a magnificent view over all the hill-towns in the district, but contains little of interest; it was a fief of the Theodoli. Beyond S. Vito this road divides; the branch on the left leads to the Pisoniano-Palestrina road (p. 259), the other passes by ROCCA S. STEFANO to the north, climbs to BELLEGRA, the loftiest village in the district (2,500 feet), with some remains of polygonal walls. Its original name was Civitella S. Sisto, but the inhabitants wished to return to the ancient name of Bellegra, which possesses the great advantage of being absolutely unknown to history. All attempts to identify it with any known city have failed completely. The road descends to the south in sharp curves; a road to the left leads to the Sublacense below Subiaco. We reach OLEVANO, which, with Bellegra and S. Vito, is a favourite summer residence for Roman artists. There are more remains of polygonal walls and of Roman villas in the district. From Olevano the road descends to the Palestrina-Fiuggi road at Ponte Orsini to the east of Genazzano.

THE CASILINA

FROM S. CESAREO TO SEGNI AND ANAGNI

We left the Via Casilina just after S. Cesareo ; we must now return to it in order to follow the valley of the Sacco in the country of the Hernici. The modern road, which may or may not correspond to an ancient one, runs north of and almost parallel to the Naples railway ; the line of the ancient Via Labicana can be traced some distance to the south, running more or less in the same direction. After some three miles from S. Cesareo we come to the Palestrina station, and just beyond it the great Olmata, which leads to the town ; unfortunately most of the elms have had to be cut down. The pass, known as the Soglia Prenestina, becomes very much narrower and the scenery is of great beauty. In a couple of miles we reach LABICO, a small village that, till half a century ago, was known as Lugnano. The identification with Labici is absolutely impossible, and, indeed, there is no positive evidence, except the situation, that it was an ancient site. In the Middle Ages it passed from the Counts of Tusculum to the Conti, who held it till 1575, when it passed to the Sforza. During the seventeenth century it was sold to the Barberini and by them again to the present owners, the Pamphili. The village contains nothing of interest, but about a mile to the south, on the ancient line of the Via Labicana, is the Grotta Mamosa, a very large reservoir. It belonged to a villa which was owned by Iulia Mamaea, the mother of Alexander Severus, as is proved both by the name and by water-pipes. It is near the posting station Ad Pictas, which was, however, on the line of the Via Latina to the south. The name may perhaps be connected with the '*picti scuta Labici*' of Virgil.

In a couple of miles we leave the gorge and come to the large village of VALMONTONE, identified, also on insufficient grounds, with Tolerium. During the Middle Ages it belonged to a branch of the Conti of Segni, from which the Ruspoli have inherited the office of Masters of the Sacred Hospice. On the extinction of the family in 1575

the estates passed to the Sforza di S. Fiora, who sold it to the Barberini, and they to the Pamphili, the present owners. The chief object of interest in the village is the colossal Pamphili Palace, built by Camillo Pamphili in 1662. It is one of the most magnificent in this part of the country and cost the, at that time, enormous sum of 600,000 crowns. Next to it is the elliptical Church of the Assumption, or Collegiata, built in 1685 after the designs of Mattia de Rossi, a pupil of Bernini; the influence of the master is obvious.

A road from Valmontone leads north to Palestrina; another to the south to ARTENA, a very picturesque village which used to be called Montefortino, infamous in the history of brigandage. On the hill to the south called Civita are extensive remains of an ancient city with polygonal walls. The city has been identified with Artena, and the modern village has officially adopted the identification, but it might just as well be Ecetra or Fortinum. A road leads along the slopes of the Lepini to Giulianello and Cori; another, the Via Ariana, leads to Velletri and is a particularly beautiful road. It runs along the foot of the Monte Artemisio, the high south wall of the great crater of the Alban hills. A gap at the most easterly point of the ridge is the pass of the Algidus, through which runs the Via Latina, and was the most important strategic point near Rome. The Via Ariana then passes through the modern village of Lariano; high above the town, on the highest point of the ridge, is the Castle of LARIANO. It was originally built by the Counts of Tusculum, perhaps on the site of an ancient shrine, no remains of which, however, are now visible. It passed into the hands of the Papacy, but was often occupied both by the Conti and by the Colonna. It was at last given in the fifteenth century to the town of Velletri, which destroyed it to the ground. At the beginning of the last century it sheltered the famous brigand Gasperone, and all the surrounding villages, especially Artena, are celebrated in the history of brigandage in Latium. The present remains of the castle, including part of the enceinte and the church, are scanty, but the view is superb.

From Valmontone the Via Casilina enters the wide plain of the Sacco valley, enclosed by high mountains on every side. Five miles from Valmontone we reach the lofty and picturesque Torre and Castle of PIMPINARA, a corruption of Fluminara, where some authorities place, without much proof, the site of Sacriportus, famous for Sulla's victory over the younger Marius. The castle was built over a still earlier one by Riccardo Conti of Valmontone, in 1210, and already by 1520 it is spoken of as in ruins. The tower and considerable parts of the enceinte are preserved; the little church, with some frescoes in the apse, is near the road.

A road on the left leads to PALIANO, the chief Duchy of the Colonna. The present representatives of this illustrious family do not descend from the main line, which held the Principality of Palestrina, but from a second line created in 1556 Dukes and in 1569 Princes of Paliano, whose most illustrious member was Marcantonio, the conqueror of Lepanto; they were also High Constables of the Kingdom of Naples. Paliano was considered the most important strategic position on the frontiers of that kingdom and was frequently besieged. It commands a beautiful view, but contains little of interest except the fine Colonna Palace, built by Filippo Colonna at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the neighbouring Church of S. Andrea, patron of the family, with the Colonna chapel at the end of the left aisle, and memorials to various members, including the victor of Lepanto, round the apse. At the top of the town are the remains of the earlier castle, now a penitentiary. In one of the rooms is an extremely interesting band of fresco representing Marcantonio's triumphal entry into Rome.

Immediately after Pimpinara a road leaves the Casilina on the right and leads to Segni, one of the most interesting cities in the district. We cross the railway and a village that grew up during the war round a great munitions factory, which is now making explosives and manure for agriculture. We then cross the line of the ancient Via Latina, which leads on the right to Artena; on a low hill to the right we see the remains of the Castle of COLLE

FERRO, also a former Conti possession, near which are some ancient reservoirs and other remains, which, however, are not sufficient to enable us to place here the ancient Volscian or Aequian city of Verrugo. A road leads off on the left to Gavignano and to Carpineto, the birthplace of Pope Leo XIII. The road continues to rise very sharply, passing in front of a number of lime-kilns; most of the lime used in Rome comes from these limestone mountains. To the left we see the high, bare north-western slopes of the hill of Segni, along which we can see the line of the polygonal walls; at the lowest point, near a telegraph post, is the Porta Saracinesca. We reach the town of Segni and stop in front of a great polygonal wall supporting the public garden.

SEgni, which can also be visited in a day by railway from Rome, is the ancient Signia, a town which is supposed to have been founded by Tarquinius Superbus, but which was certainly colonized by Rome in 494 B.C. It seems to have been opposed to Rome during the Latin war of 340 B.C., but afterwards, as a Roman colony, it was steadily faithful, and was used as a safe place in which to keep the Carthaginian hostages. Its subsequent history is unknown, but it always remained a place of considerable importance. Its most celebrated product was a harsh, astringent wine, much used in Rome; '*Spumans immiti Signia musto*' (SIL. ITAL., VIII, 378). '*Potabis liquidum Signina morantia ventrem? Ne nimium sistas, sit tibi parca sitis*' (MART., XIII, 116). It also produced pears of an excellent quality, and vegetables. In the Middle Ages it was an important bishopric dependent on the Holy See, and frequently gave hospitality to the popes when the Roman populace drove them from the city. Eugenius III in 1145 built a papal palace. In the cathedral Alexander III canonized Thomas à Becket in 1173. It passed into the hands of the great family of the Conti, who held it nominally as vicars of the Pope, and it remained to the elder branch of the family, the Counts of Segni and Valmontone. During the war between Paul IV and Philip II it was captured on August 13th 1557 by the Spanish troops led by Alva and Marcantonio Colonna and atrociously sacked and destroyed.



THE TEMPLE (*p.* 167)



THE PORTA SARACINESCA (*p.* 168)
SEgni



In 1575 the eldest branch of the Conti became extinct and Segni passed to the Sforza di Santaflora ; Sixtus V raised it to a Duchy, but Urban VIII gave it to his nephew. This started a lawsuit which lasted a century between the Sforza and the Barberini ; it was decided in favour of the former and it gives a ducal title to the Sforza-Cesarini family.

The present town occupies only a small portion of the original city, the great polygonal walls of which can be traced throughout. It is one of the finest specimens of a polygonal enceinte, but, as usual, the walls must not be considered of fabulous antiquity, since they cannot be earlier than the foundation of the Roman colony in the fifth century B.C. To the right of the main gate of the town is a small but picturesque public garden, supported by the great enceinte before which we stopped. On the left is a portion of the city walls in squared blocks of peperino resting on courses of polygonal masonry, but the latter are not ancient and appear to have been built in later time with blocks taken from the earlier walls. We go straight up the central street to the cathedral, an extremely handsome building with a good travertine façade. In the very spacious interior notice the chapel on the right dedicated to S. Bruno, patron of the city, whose head is preserved here. The altar-front is a beautiful piece of Cosmatesque work, probably taken from an earlier iconostasis. We then take the long street to the right of the church, passing in front of a fine mediaeval house and noticing the interesting early Campanile of the cathedral. The road goes right through the town, rising steadily ; most of the houses on the left are built over parts of the polygonal walls, a good section of which may be seen down a lane opposite a round church. At last we reach the open space of the acropolis, marked by a cross. Before reaching it we come to the Church of S. Pietro, built inside an early Italic temple. The lower platform is of polygonal blocks of local limestone, the superstructure of squared blocks of peperino. It was the capitol of the Roman colony and was probably built in imitation of the Capitoline Temple in Rome with three cellae dedicated to Jupiter, Juno, and

Minerva respectively. It is one of the earliest Latin temples known. Behind it is a large circular piscina or cistern of later date ; it is clear that the water-supply must have been a difficult problem for the inhabitants.

From the terrace above the walls to the right of the church we can enjoy one of the finest views in Italy. The whole of the valley of the Sacco lies stretched out at our feet, from Palestrina on the left to Veroli and Frosinone on the right. There is a pleasant walk along the side of the acropolis, but only good walkers should undertake the exertion of going to the Porta Saracinesca. The walk becomes a path and passes through a gap in the walls. It now descends the very steep side of the hill, rendered still more difficult through the small pieces of sharp limestone. We thus descend outside the walls and can observe several small openings in them till at last we reach the famous Porta Saracinesca, one of the best examples of this type of small postern. It is built of great blocks and the sides are corbelled, so that there is no need for the use of the arch. This, however, should not be taken to mean that its builders were unacquainted with the principle, but simply that, considering the material, it was less trouble to build it this way. It is possible to return to the village along the side of the hill. Other remains of the enceinte, including another similar gateway, may be seen below the east side of the city.

ANAGNI

*Veggio in Alagna entrar lo fiordaliso
E nel Vicario suo Cristo esser catto.*

—DANTE, *Purg.*, XX, 86

From the Castle of Pimpinara the Via Casilina keeps straight on in the Sacco valley. After about ten kilometres a road branches off to the left and leads both to Paliano and to Anagni. To go to the latter we keep to the right on reaching the fork and passing below the great Leonine seminary, built by Pope Leo XIII, who was educated at Anagni, and another large college of the

Government, we enter Anagni by Porta Cerere, so called because it used to be decorated with an ancient statue of the goddess.

Anagni is the ancient Anagnia, the capital of the Hernici and a city of the greatest antiquity. It is supposed to have sent help to King Tullus Hostilius during the war with Alba and at the beginning of the fifth century B.C. was allied with Rome. But during the Samnite wars Anagni convoked an assembly of the Hernici in the circus maritimus—a not satisfactorily explained epithet—at the Compitum Anagninum, the posting station near the fork on the Casilina, and war was declared against Rome. In 306 B.C. the consul, Q. Marcius Tremulus, invaded their territory and completely broke up the Hernican league, granting Anagni severe terms of peace. After this it only appears incidentally in history, although it seems to have suffered considerably through the invasions of Pyrrhus and of Hannibal. But in the time of Cicero, who had an estate here, it was a prosperous municipium, and the fertility of its territory, especially in grain, is extolled by the poets, who call it *dives*, *pinguis*, and *cerealis*. Marcus Aurelius visited it and wrote to his tutor Fronto that the ancient city was very small, but contained a great many antiquities, especially sacred objects; there was hardly any corner where there was not a temple or a chapel.

During the Middle Ages it became one of the principal dioceses of central Italy, and a favourite papal residence during the struggle of the investitures. In its cathedral Alexander III excommunicated Frederic Barbarossa and received the submission of the English barons, the ambassadors sent by Henry III for the murder of Becket; here the same Pope canonized Edward the Confessor and after the battle of Legnano drew up the provisional terms of peace with the Empire that were later ratified at Venice and Constance. It came under the influence of the Conti di Segni, and three popes of that illustrious family were born here—Innocent III, Gregory IX, and Alexander IV. From the cathedral Gregory IX excommunicated Barbarossa's grandson, Frederic II, the wonder of the world. During

the thirteenth century begins the power of another great family of Anagni—that of the Caetani. Benedetto Caetani became Pope in 1294 and, though he founded the fortunes of his glorious family, Boniface VIII lived to see the fall of the great edifice raised by his countryman and predecessor Innocent. After humbling the Colonna and destroying Palestrina he rashly engaged in a struggle with Philip the Fair of France, a far more powerful enemy. While engaged in this foreign quarrel he had succeeded in alienating the affection and sympathy not only of Italy in general but even of his own direct subjects. The Roman nobility was irritated by the elevation of the Pope's family and by the crusade which had been proclaimed against the Colonna. For the first and last time a common danger united the Orsini and the Colonna; the very citizens of Anagni feared the loss of their freedom and expected to pass under the domination of the Caetani. The most desperate of the Colonna—Sciarra—burning to avenge the wrongs of his family, came from France with the Vice-chancellor of the Kingdom, Guillaume de Nogaret, took refuge at Marino with the hereditary enemy of his family, the Cardinal Orsini, and there a conspiracy was hatched that was to influence all the future history of Europe. The octogenarian Pope was at Anagni, preparing to excommunicate the King of France from the same cathedral in which his predecessors had excommunicated the greatest of the Hohenstaufen. There was no time to be lost: the conspirators met at Sgurgola, the village on the hill-side directly south of Anagni on the other side of the valley, and gathered a few hundred desperadoes on whom they could rely. Before dawn on September 8th 1303 they crossed the valley and were admitted to Anagni by the civic militia, which joined them in their attack on the papal palace. The Pope was valiantly defended by his relations, but numbers were against them, and Sciarra and Nogaret burst into the throne-room over a pile of dead bodies, including that of a bishop. The Pope was awaiting them dressed in his pontifical robes, but Sciarra would have killed him at once had it not been for the interposition of the Chancellor. For three days the Pope

remained a captive, but no threats or ill-treatment could bring him to grant the requests of the French and of the Colonna. Even Dante, who probably loathed Boniface more than any other man, could not help being moved by horror at the sacriligious brutality of this band of brigands. The Caetani gathered troops in their own territories, others were sent from Rome, while the people at Anagni stood aghast at their own action. Sciarra and Nogaret were forced to fly and Boniface was able to return to Rome to die of shock and impotent rage, taking with him to the tomb the greatness of the mediaeval papacy.

Boniface's successor, the unfortunate Benedict XI, pronounced a terrible curse on the repentant city, and the children of those who took part in the deed saw it verified. In 1348, during the anarchy produced in Latium by the absence of the popes at Avignon and the flight of Cola di Rienzo, a terrible band of mercenaries and adventurers some 3,000 strong, known as the Great Company, and led by Werner von Uerslingen, was ravaging Latium and holding cities to ransom. Anagni resisted and the brigands captured and burnt it, massacring nearly all the inhabitants. The city never recovered from the blow, and ten years later it was quietly occupied by Count Onorato Caetani of Fondi. Its subsequent history is of little interest and it continued to remain a dependency of the Holy See. It was much restored by Leo X and was captured and sacked by the Spanish troops of Alva in 1557.

The present town probably occupies only the acropolis of the ancient city, and, like so many of these Italian hill-towns, really consists of a long, narrow street. On entering it from Rome we first come on the right to several well-preserved houses of the thirteenth century. The Church of S. Andrea has a pretty campanile and a tryptich of the school of Torriti. We can then turn off to the left to see a long and imposing piece of the Roman city wall, built of squared blocks unlike the other cities of the district, which are all in polygonal masonry. It is further remarkable for the great arches that are built in front of it, either to strengthen the wall behind or to allow an extension of the platform above. Continuing along the Corso we come to

the Piazza Cavour, with a magnificent view over the Sacco valley. A little farther on, opposite the quite tolerable inn, is the Palazzo Comunale, a fine example of secular architecture of the thirteenth century; one should go through the archway and admire on the other side the far handsomer façade with its charming loggia and windows. On either side of the Corso are a number of mediaeval houses, and others should be sought in the whole of this picturesque quarter. To the right the vicolo S. Michele leads to the remains of a Caetani palace, probably the one bought by Cardinal Pietro Caetani in 1295, consisting of some colossal arches. The papal palace in which Boniface was captured is probably the present Cistercian convent on the other side of the Corso, recently restored for the centenary of Dante, which contains a great hall with considerable remains of contemporary frescoes. We now reach the Piazza Bonifacio VIII, the centre of the mediaeval quarter, and, taking the road to the right, we come to the square on the side of the cathedral.

This square is also open towards the valley, while high up on the cathedral sits the life-size figure of Pope Boniface, in sacerdotal vestments, under a corbelled canopy decorated with coats of arms in mosaic. He gazes out over the plain, over to Sgurgola, where his enemies met, but his hand is extended in blessing. It has been thought that this most impressive statue was set up after the Pope's death in order to avert the effect of his successor's curse. Near it is a balcony from which the bishop yearly imparts the benediction to the people, another impressive sight. It used to be approached from the square by a monumental staircase which was unfortunately destroyed, and is at the same level as the pavement of the church, which is built on a slope. Architecturally the finest parts of the church are the apses with their beautiful Lombard arcades, a perfect specimen of the art of the eleventh century. It is possible to enter the church from here, but it is preferable to go first to the façade.

The building was founded by the Bishop of Anagni, S. Peter (1062-1105), a monk and friend of Gregory VII, who appointed him. He brought to his diocese all the

artistic ardour which he must have imbibed at Montecassino, and managed to obtain money for it in a most curious way. He was sent to Constantinople as an ambassador during the Crusades and obtained large sums of money from the Greek emperor for the construction of his cathedral. That Alexius Comnenus, of all men, should have given money for building a Latin church a few decades after the Latins had solemnly excommunicated the Greek nation, the Greek patriarch, the Greek Church, and the Greek emperor, passes belief, and tradition has recourse to the direct intervention of the Virgin, who appeared in a dream to Alexius. Still I very much doubt whether any amount of visions would have made that very wily statesman part with a single penny, and, although I do not wish to cast the slightest aspersion on the character of a saint, I cannot help thinking that he is not the first example of a diplomatist who has returned from Constantinople with a considerable treasure amassed by no miraculous means. Would that they had all spent it as well as did Peter ! This building was extensively restored by Bishop Pandulphus (1237-1257), who introduced the Gothic style which had come from Fossanova, and during that century it was still further decorated and embellished.

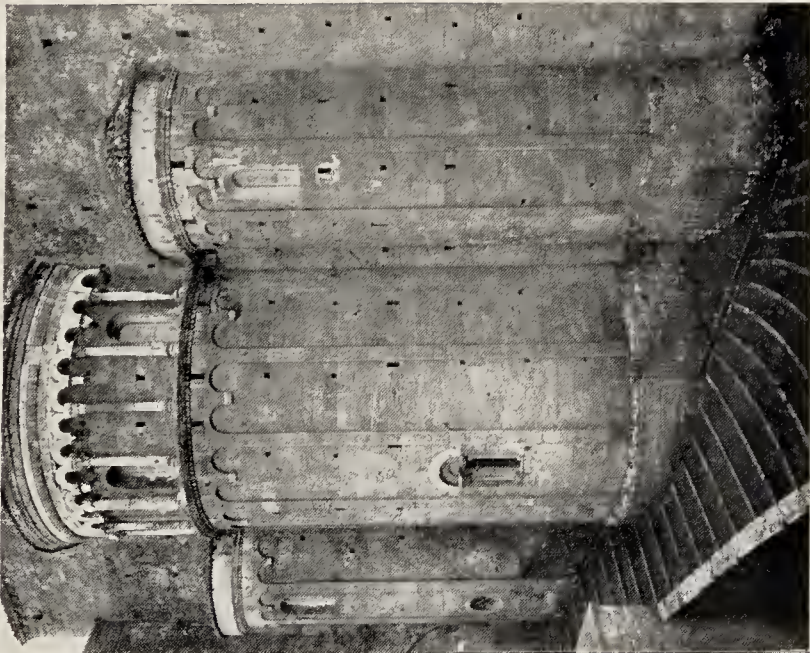
The present façade and the isolated campanile are of the earlier period, the tower being a particularly fine specimen of Lombard architecture. The upper portion of the front was spoilt during Bishop Seneca's reconstruction. There are traces of a porch that Pandulph probably never completed. The interior, even in its present state, is singularly impressive. Originally a typical Romanesque Basilica with an open roof, it was much altered by Pandulph, who covered the presbytery and the transepts with Gothic vaults and supported the roof of the nave by transverse arches. In the seventeenth century Bishop Seneca ruined it by hiding the open roof with a vault, thus altering the proportions of the interior, and an attempt to restore it in 1880 was simply limited to painting Seneca's work in the colours which at that time were quite erroneously thought to be suitable. A radical restoration has been commenced, but work is progressing very slowly through lack of funds.

The pavement is very beautiful and an inscription states that it was executed under the reign of Bishop Albert (1224-1238) by Magister Cosmas. The curious pulpit is a modern pastiche, made up of pieces of the seventeenth-century choir stalls. Visitors, on getting hold of the sacristan, should immediately tell him to see about getting the key of the museum, for some delay is occasionally encountered in finding the priest to whom it is entrusted; in the meanwhile the rest of the church can be examined. At the end of the left aisle is the Caetani chapel, probably one of Pandulph's additions. It contains a handsome Gothic monument to some of Boniface's ancestors, the Bishop Peter, Count Geoffrey of Caserta, and James Caetani. The inscription states that the bodies were placed here in 1294, but the monument itself appears to have been built a little later. The contemporary altar in front of it has on the left side an ancient Roman inscription; the chapel also contains a Madonna of the school of Cavallini. The papal altar in the presbytery is surmounted by a magnificent ciborium, probably the work of Cosmas I, since it is of earlier type than the far more elaborate one at Ferentino. Behind it are two more treasures, the paschal candlestick and the bishop's throne, both masterpieces by Vassalletus, probably son of the Peter who, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, executed with the help of his son the cloisters of S. Paolo and of the Lateran. The two works at Anagni were commissioned by Bishop Landus (1263) and may be considered the masterpieces of Roman mediaeval sculpture, strongly influenced by the study of classical models and only slightly, in certain decorative motives, by Gothic art. Notice the classical character of the kneeling boy on the candlestick and the magnificent appearance of the lions, probably copied from some Romano-Egyptian examples, which are quite worthy of the Renaissance. The throne is a masterpiece; the very simplicity of the chair contrasting with the magnificent richness of the magical hexagram on the disk above it, surely the most effective background ever devised for a mitred head.

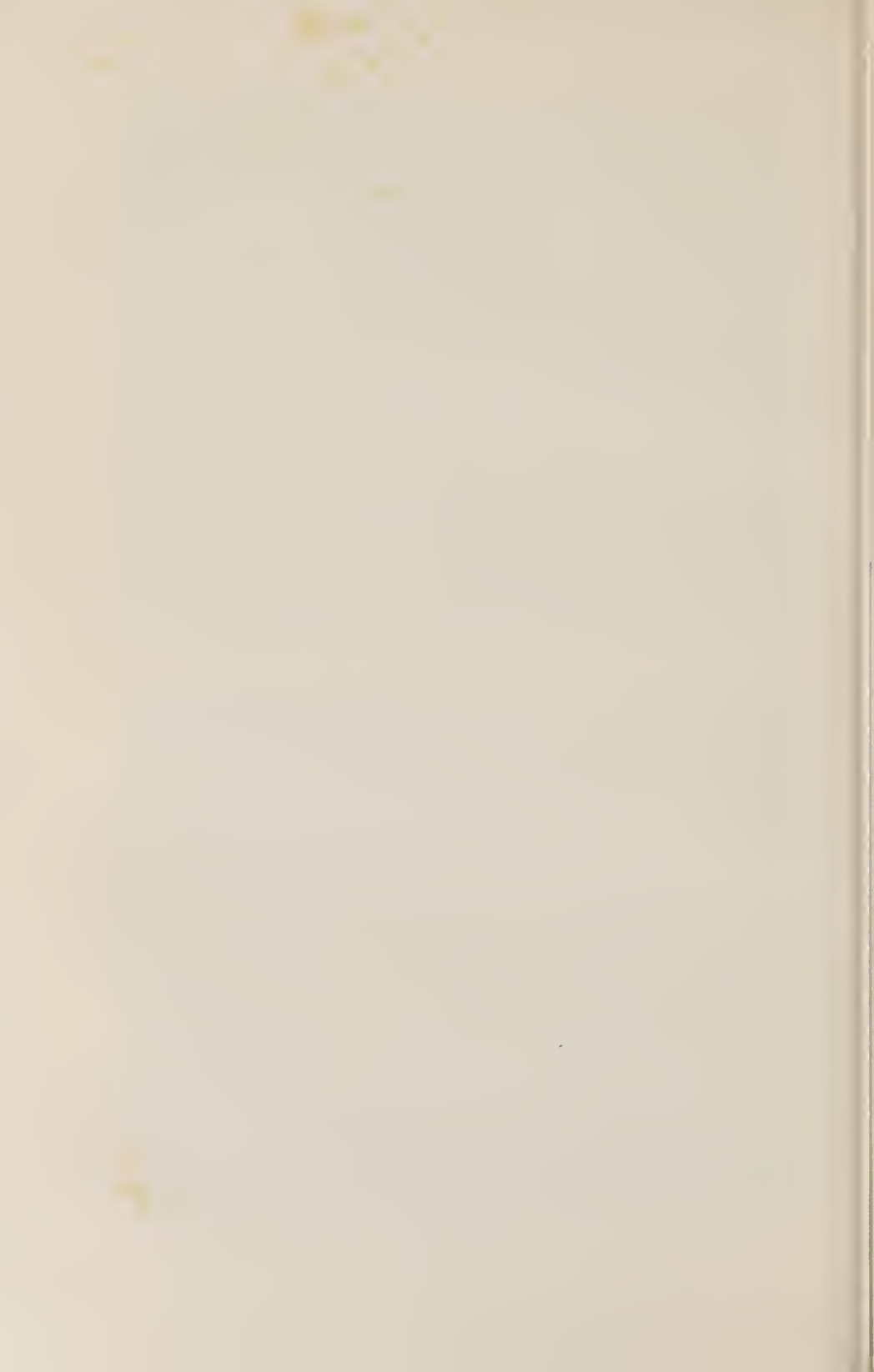
From each of the aisles a stair leads down into the very



THE CANDLESTICK AND THE THRONE



THE APSES OF THE CATHEDRAL (p. 172)



large crypt, which preserves almost unchanged the Romanesque architecture of the time of Bishop Peter. The pavement is a signed work by Cosmas, with his sons Jacopo and Luca, executed in 1231. But its chief treasure are the frescoes by a number of artists of the Roman school of the thirteenth century, which form an extraordinarily interesting repertory of mediaeval iconography.

The crypt is very wide, and therefore the side on the right (north) is rather dark, but the eyes soon get accustomed to the light. Of the five altars most are dedicated to local saints. The principal altar is that of S. Magnus, and in the semidome and the three vaults in front of it are very curious representations of the apocalyptic vision, including in one place S. John himself; Christ is seated on the rainbow and the double-edged sword comes from His mouth, around Him are the four and twenty elders, and then the seven candlesticks, the seven churches, etc. The altar to the left is that of S. Secundina; in the apse we see the Virgin between the Baptist and the Evangelist and SS. Aurelia and Neomusia; in the two bays in front of it are a very beautiful medallion of the Saviour and a curious representation of the cross surrounded by angels. Along the whole of the bottom part of the wall behind the altars are representations of the martyrdom of SS. Secundina and Magnus and the translation of their relics. The two bays in front of the right altar are occupied by stories of Elijah and Elisha and of Abraham and Melchisedec. The next row of vaults runs from south to north (the cathedral, like so many early Italian churches, is oriented towards the west because the priest at that time faced the congregation), starting from the regrettable altar of S. Oliva, a saint of Cori, whose relics, however, were translated here. The frescoes in the bays above each of the altars are of no great importance, but the other five, together with two of the row towards the entrance wall, illustrate in a most amusing way the beginning of Samuel I. In the first bay (to the south) we see the Philistines capturing the Ark of the Covenant, and the death of Eli, who, at the news, fell over backwards. In the next we see the Ark causing the idols of the Philistines to fall down and the Lord afflicting the

Philistines with emerods. The Philistines then determine to restore the Ark and have their goldsmiths make models of the emerods and of mice as an offering and bring the Ark to Beth-Shemesh. The frescoes in the fourth bay represent the people of Beth-Shemesh falling dead through having looked into the Ark, which they send away to the house of Aminadab. The last bay before the north altar shows Samuel inducing the Israelites to destroy their idols. The story continues on the adjoining bay on the east wall, where we see the Israelites routing the Philistines in the battle of Mizpeh, and Samuel setting up the stone Ebenezer between Mizpeh and Shen. The next bay to the south shows Samuel and Saul; in one scene the latter is shown with his celebrated asses, and in another he is being anointed. On the east wall are a number of scenes representing complicated but rather unoriginal miracles of S. Magnus, except one scene, which depicts the martyrdom of S. John *ad portam Latinam*. But the most interesting representation by far is that on the wall next to the south door, where the two masters of ancient medicine, Hippocrates and Galen, are shown seated on their thrones. The elder sits on a higher stool and has a number of appropriate bottles on the shelves behind him. He is dictating to his disciple a suitable aphorism on the constitution of the world. The whole picture is incredibly fantastic and looks like an illustration from a fairy book, rather than the frontispiece of some philosophical or medical treatise, which is the most probable model; the sages are dressed in wonderful clothes, Hippocrates in a mantle of vair, with amazing hats or crowns. On the wall near them is a very curious diagram which illustrates Plato's theory of the harmony of the four elements, fire, air, water, earth, as understood in the Middle Ages, especially by Isidore of Seville. In the vault above an attempt was made to illustrate this principle as applied to the various complexions of man.

Of course this vast cycle of paintings, which appears to have been executed in the main between 1231 and 1255, is the work of many different hands. One of these masters, who has been called the 'Master of the Translations', is a

follower of the traditional Roman school, but has an extraordinarily fertile imagination and a marvellous power of expression in design and in colour. A second artist is a brilliant decorator, but follows very closely the old Byzantine models and his figures are flat and conventional. The third is an artist who may have also worked at Subiaco (p. 256), and though strongly influenced by the best Byzantine models is a very vigorous impressionist. From the crypt one can pass to the Chapel of S. Thomas of Canterbury, but the frescoes, mostly scenes from the Old Testament, are in a very bad state of preservation and of no great merit. They are probably of the twelfth century.

The sacristy contains a number of priceless treasures, especially the vestments and embroideries given by Boniface VIII to the cathedral. It should, however, be remembered that the vestments were not originally in their present form; after the Tridentine reforms in the liturgy they were adapted to the modern rite. The cope, chasuble, and dalmatic in red cloth, with gold animals embroidered on them, are perhaps those mentioned in an inventory of Boniface's gifts as being of *opus Cyprense*, and may be either an actual importation from the East or a Sicilian imitation of Oriental models. The Byzantine double-headed eagle should be specially noticed. Then there is a magnificent cope, embroidered with thirty scenes from the life of Christ which was given by the Pope in 1295 and is one of the earliest examples of *opus Anglicanum*, the famous English style of embroidery. Another gift of Boniface VIII is the altar frontal divided in two rows, in the upper the Virgin, angels and saints, in the lower the Crucifixion and scenes of martyrdom, which shows in the technique the influence of the *opus Anglicanum* but in the subjects that of the contemporary paintings. Of the other treasures of this museum the only one we have space to mention is the little reliquary, with enamels of Limoges with a scene of the murder of S. Thomas of Canterbury, which was made for some relic of that saint.

If, on leaving the cathedral, one goes out of the city by the east gate one can see another important section of the ancient walls. This whole district is rich in cities of the

greatest interest and of almost unimpaired picturesqueness. I wish I had space to describe FERENTINO, with its magnificent polygonal walls and its cathedral rich in Cosmatesque church furniture, including the great ciborium by Drudus and the colossal but rather heavy paschal candlestick. To the north-east is FUMONE, the State prison of the mediaeval Church, where Pope Celestine died in 1294 after his abdication. Beyond it is ALATRI, most impressive of polygonal enceintes, the acropolis of which rivals the walls of Mycaenae or of Tiryns. Then COLLEPARDO, with its stalactite caves, and beyond it, on the hill-side, the famous Carthusian monastery of TRISULTI, the walk to which is delightful. And above all perhaps the Abbey of CASAMARI, one of the purest Gothic buildings of the region. It is still the most important Cistercian monastery in central Italy, and should anyone wish to explore this region with a car I would advise them to spend a couple of nights as the monks' guests. Ladies are admitted and housed in the thirteenth-century gate tower, and of course a sufficient donation must be made to the abbey. Visitors intending to stop the night are advised to write a few days beforehand since accommodation is naturally limited.

CHAPTER IX

THE VIA PRAENESTINA

THE Via Praenestina is one of the old roads for local traffic that never expanded into a long-distance route. At first it led to Gabii and was called the Via Gabina, and only later was it prolonged to Praeneste. However, its importance must have even so been considerable, since Praeneste retained its importance under the Empire, chiefly owing to its famous temple; moreover, the road runs along the line of the aqueducts and must have carried all the traffic that was connected with their construction and upkeep. At the present day the road is of little importance, since it is quicker, if less interesting, to go to Palestrina by the Labicana. But for the tourist of leisure, and especially for the walker, it is of the greatest attraction, since it leads to a part of the country that is almost unspoilt, with charming scenery and most impressive remains of classical and mediaeval antiquity. We shall also notice the Via Collatina, of very little importance at any time, but which allows an interesting drive of about an hour, going to Lunghezza by the Collatina and returning to Rome by the Tiburtina or the Praenestina.

The Via Praenestina leaves the city by the Porta Maggiore, originally the archway which carried the Aqua Claudia and the Anio Novus over the Praenestina and the Labicana. The first portion of the road is not attractive owing to the close proximity of the railway and of the tramway depots. On the left we pass the entrance to the well-known subterranean basilica. We pass under the railway and then, about half a mile farther on, we cross over another line. Just after this second bridge, at a little distance to the left of the road, are the remains of the largest round tomb in the vicinity of Rome. It consists of a huge drum of concrete nearly 150 feet in diameter, which was originally faced with stone. The chamber in

the interior is small and approached by a long corridor ; it was visited on September 2nd 1741 by Prince Charlie.

The road descends into the valley of the Marranella, where the tram-lines end. The name of the terminus, Acqua Bollicante, is that of the *tenuta* and of a small sulphur spring, formerly of some importance. The road is now crossed by the military road that leads to the Tiburtina on the left and the Tuscolana on the right ; immediately to the left of the latter branch are the remains of a large square tomb in second century brickwork. It is the earliest known example of small arches supported by corbels and themselves supporting a cornice, a device which becomes common in mediaeval architecture.

About a kilometre farther on we come, on the left of the road, to one of the principal groups of ruins in the near neighbourhood of Rome, the villa of the Gordians, commonly known, from the principal monument, as TOR DE' SCHIAVI. This family, which gave three phantom emperors during the troubled times of the third century (238-244), was one of the most noble in Rome. The elder Gordian descended on his father's side from the Gracchi and on his mother's from Trajan. From both sides he inherited great wealth and vast possessions, including the palace in Rome that had formerly belonged to Pompey. But the villa on the Via Praenestina was specially magnificent since it had a peristyle with two hundred columns, three halls or basilicas with a hundred columns each, and baths considered to be the most magnificent in the world after those actually in Rome itself. We must not suppose that all this magnificence was due to the Gordians themselves ; they probably simply made some additions and alterations to a pre-existing building, as can be deduced from the remains, which are mostly of earlier date. The most conspicuous ruin—indeed one of the most fantastic in the Campagna—was originally part of an octagonal room, either a nymphaeum or a bath. The sides are decorated with niches in which traces of stucco can still be seen ; it was covered by a circular dome which, since the walls are very thin, had to be lightened by the insertion of empty jars, one of the earliest examples of this device. In the

Middle Ages a tower was built on top of it and the dome was strengthened to carry the additional weight by the construction of a great round pilaster in the centre. This is the only building that can belong to the time of the Gordians; a big buttressed reservoir and an apse with a stuccoed semidome are both earlier. On the other hand, the great round mausoleum farther to the east, the *Tor de' Schiavi*, so called from the name of a sixteenth-century proprietor, is of later date, since the brick stamps prove it to be of the time of Diocletian. It is a round funerary tomb or 'heroon' like the one of Romulus, son of Maxentius, on the Appia, and, like it, had a columned portico in front approached by a flight of steps. It is in two stories; the lower one has a large, massive pillar in the centre, supporting the vault, another architectural feature of importance. The walls are very thick and the vaults are therefore solid. The exterior was faced with stucco imitating marble masonry, a characteristic of Diocletian's buildings, such as the Curia. After the murder of the Gordians the villa eventually became Imperial property and was probably incorporated in the vast estate, the centre of which was the Villa *ad duas lauros* on the Labicana, which extended to the villa of the *Quintilii* on the Appia.

At the bottom of the descent a road leads to the aerodrome of Centocelle, and a little farther on the modern Via Collatina branches off to the left. The ancient Collatina started from the Tiburtina and was never a road of great importance, being chiefly used for the aqueducts and the quarries. Its modern counterpart is bad and passes little of interest. At the station of Cervara a branch road leads to the quarries, but these are now more easily visited from the Tiburtina (see p. 207). Farther on, in a valley between the tenth and eleventh kilometres, are the famous springs of the Aqua Virgo, which still supply the fountain of Trevi and all the lower part of Rome with some of the best drinking water in the world. The aqueduct was built, or rather excavated, by Agrippa in 33 B.C., and the springs are said to have been pointed out to some thirsty soldiers by a girl, whence the name. To the left is the large Casale di Salone, which was built in 1525 by Cardinal Trivulzio

and was one of the most magnificent of the sixteenth century villas ; it was probably very much injured during the sack of Rome two years later and soon fell in complete disrepair. It now contains few traces of its former magnificence ; the estate has been the property of the Chapter of Sta Maria Maggiore since the Middle Ages. The Via Collatina comes to an end at LUNGHEZZA, on the Anio, the site of the ancient Collatia, where Sextus Tarquinius surprised Lucretia 'and wrought the deed of shame'. There are no remains of classical antiquity, but the castle is one of the most imposing in the Campagna. The estate in the eighth century belonged to the Abbey of Farfa, but eventually passed to the Basilica of S. Paolo, which remained its legal owner till 1518. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it was illegally occupied by the Conti, and in its castle took place in 1297 the famous meeting of the Colonna family, attended by French prelates and several monks and jurists, in which the two Colonna cardinals declared that they did not recognize Pope Boniface VIII and appealed to a General Council. The declaration, which was probably drawn up by Fra Jacopone da Todi, the author of the *Stabat Mater*, was sent to Rome, and led to the famous crusade against the Colonnas. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the monastery sold it to the Medicis, and through Clement VII it passed to Clarice de Medici, the wife of Filippo Strozzi. The Strozzi built the vast castle-palace, and their heraldic crescents can still be seen over the doors and windows.

Continuing along the Via Praenestina after the Collatina leaves it, we go for a couple of miles without meeting any important remains of antiquity. At the seventh kilometre we come to Tor Tre Teste, so called from the funerary relief with three portrait heads which is walled into the side of the little chapel ; many ancient fragments are also built into the mediaeval tower. A road to the left leads past Tor Sapienza to the Collatina and Cervara ; a road to the right passes by the aqueduct of Alexander Severus and joins the Labicana beyond Centocelle.

About a mile farther on we pass to the right of some remains of an ancient villa which are called the Muraccio

dell' Omo Morto (Dead Man's Wall). The gruesome name—and the names in Campagna Romana are sometimes gruesome, sometimes horrible, sometimes ludicrous, but always interesting—is due to the discovery of some late burial. A little farther on, to the right, is the Casale di Tor Angela; the estate was also known as Mompeo, a corruption of Monte di Pompeo, from a former owner, Pompeo Falcone; farther to the right we see more arches of the Alexandrina. At the twelfth kilometre we come to a deep valley which the road crosses on the finest Roman viaduct near Rome. As it stands at the ninth ancient milestone it has been called since the tenth century the Ponte di Nona. It consists of seven arches of concrete faced with Gabine stone (sperone), but the bridgeheads are of local red tufa; the greatest height is fifty-two feet. The stream was originally crossed on a small bridge with a single arch that was incorporated in the later structure, which was built to maintain the road level.

On the heights to the left beyond the bridge excavation has brought to light a vast number of ex-votos, but no trace of any temple; like so many other sanctuaries in the Campagna it was probably merely an open-air enclosure with a few shrines and altars. A couple of miles farther on we reach the group of modern buildings of the Osteria dell' Osa, an important road-centre. To the left a road leads to Lunghezza; the ancient road still subsists as a path on the other side of the Osa stream and passes by the ruins of the Castel dell' Osa, where some authorities wrongly placed Collatia. Another road leads off to the right to the Labicana just beyond Tor Carbone. The Praenestina itself leaves the modern road, and its line is followed by the bridle-path on the right just beyond the stream; the modern road, however, probably follows an ancient line. It rises on the other side of the valley with a sharp turn and in about a mile reaches a point where there is a small modern tower and a rough track leading to the right; this is the best point from which to visit Gabii.

GABII AND THE OLD VIA PRAENESTINA

et, qui nunc nulli, maxima turba Gabi.

—PROP., VI, i, 34

The walk through the ruins of Gabii and on by the Via Praenestina to Cavamonte is a charming one, especially in the spring when the wild flowers cover the whole countryside with colour. At the beginning of the century this portion of the road was one of the finest examples of an ancient roadway; the spread of cultivation in recent years has done considerable damage, and still more must be expected; but even so the excursion is one of great interest apart from the beauties of nature. The actual distance is about eight miles, including the visit to the ruins of Gabii and the six miles of road, and it can easily be accomplished in about three or four hours. The car should be sent on to wait at Cavamonte where the road to Gallicano leaves the road to Zagarolo.

A bad modern track leads to the lofty tower of Castiglione del Lago, which occupies the acropolis of the famous city of Gabii. Nearly all ancient authorities considered it a Latin city, one of the colonies of Alba, but Solinus ascribed its foundation to the Siculi and derived the name by uniting those of the two founders, Galatus and Bius. It was one of the largest and most important of these early cities, probably because it was on the road which, crossing the Tiber at Fidenae, united the two important Etruscan cities of Veii and Praeneste. Romulus and Remus were supposed to have been educated here, but it seems to have long remained independent of Rome. It is said to have afforded shelter to Roman fugitives at the time of the second Tarquin and to have been taken by stratagem and by the treachery of Sextus. But this legend is certainly one of the least trustworthy; it is, however, certain that, under Augustus, a treaty between Tarquin and Gabii was in existence. It was written on a hide stretched on a shield and suspended in the Temple of Semo Sancus. After the regal period it almost disappears from history, and the liberal stipulations of the treaty, by

which a Sabine citizen in Rome enjoyed the rights of Roman citizenship and vice versa, must have favoured its absorption by the newer and stronger city. In 211 B.C. Hannibal passed through it when marching against Rome, and in 41 B.C. it was selected for a conference between Lucius Antonius and Octavian, which did not take place owing to mutual suspicion. Under the Empire it is frequently mentioned by the poets, together with Fidenae, as a synonym for desolation, but the excavations conducted here in 1792 by Gavin Hamilton showed that it remained a prosperous if small posting station. Its prosperity increased in the fifth century, for it was sufficiently important to be a diocese the bishops of which are known to us from 465 to 1060, when it was probably incorporated with that of Praeneste. In the Middle Ages the site belonged to the monastery of Sta Prassede, which in 1614 sold it to the Borghese, who still own it.

Gabii stands on the rim of a small crater formerly known as the Lago di Castiglione. The lake, which has now been drained, existed all through the Middle Ages, but it is difficult to know whether it also existed in Roman times. It is certainly not the Lake Regillus, and it was probably drained at a very early date, perhaps even in prehistoric times. The city is in a very strong position and the face of the crater has been in places artificially scarped to strengthen it still further. The actual remains, however, are scanty; the piece of wall to the right of the path before reaching the tower is certainly mediaeval although probably constructed of ancient blocks. To the left is a large quarry and to the west of the tower, which is of no interest except as a most conspicuous landmark, are some traces of the earliest walls. From the acropolis on which the tower is built a remarkable rock-cut road leads south to the Temple and the Via Praenestina. It was probably the *cardo* of the ancient city and passes by some quarries. Walking through the fields we soon reach the temple, one of the most picturesque ruins in the Campagna, and one of the earliest Roman temples in existence. It is built of the local variety of tufa, the *Lapis gabinus*, which was originally coated with stucco but has now weathered to a beautiful

golden-brown. At the back of the temple the Lesbian moulding of the podium should be noticed ; it enables us to date the temple at about 250-200 B.C. It had six columns in front and at the side but none at the back ; as at Aricia the back wall is continued on either side so as to close the space of the portico. The whole temple was surrounded by a colonnade, which was probably of the Doric order, but there is no evidence to indicate the style of the temple itself.

In front of the temple we find the track of the Praenestina and we start along it towards the hills. The ancient pavement in large blocks of basalt is preserved to a very great extent. Soon we see in the fields to the left the ruins of the Church of SS. Primitivus and Exuperantius ; the former was beheaded and thrown into the lake, the latter recovered the body and buried it in a catacomb. The existing remains are those of the side walls and the tower ; a few years ago the apse, which was part of a Roman building converted into a church, was blown down during a storm. To the right is the great depression of Pantano (the swamp), which has only recently been drained ; it is probably another volcanic crater and is also a spurious claimant for the honour of being the Lake Regillus. Parallel to the right side of the road are some scanty traces of an aqueduct which was probably built by Hadrian to supply Gabii with water from the springs to the west of Pantano. These springs were later used for the Alexandrina and at present supply the Acqua Felice. All along both sides of the road are insignificant remains of tombs and other buildings.

The road descends slightly, then rises sharply up the side of the hill ; the pavement along this portion, known as I Cancelletti, is in a wonderful state of preservation. We reach the picturesque Fontanile delle Zinne, the drinking-trough for the cattle, which here are truly magnificent specimens of the Roman breed. The road again rises sharply and on the other side of the hill descends to the Fosso di Biserano, which it crosses on an ancient bridge. Just beyond the bridge it passes to the right of an interesting group of tombs, then ascends sharply. The engineers seem

to have made some mistake here ; instead of making the road rise gradually along the side of the hill, like the modern path, they took the road straight up the hill and made it run on an embankment. The remains of this embankment with those of the pavement can be seen to the left of the present path. The road then turns to the left and runs in an almost perfectly straight line to the west. There are many traces of tombs and villas, but few of any importance. To the right of the road we can see the mouths of the valleys closed by massive walls ; these are the bridges supporting the aqueducts which, having united at Ponte Lupo, run all together on to Rome. We now approach the slopes of the Montes Praenestini, which seem to form a solid wall. The wide expanses of pasturage give place to cultivation which is gradually extending more and more, with undoubted benefits for the country in general but with disastrous results for the monuments ; the walls on either side of the road are largely made up of blocks taken from the pavement. To the left, on the Colle Vigna, are some scanty remains of a large villa. The road turns to the right and then again to the left and descends sharply to a small stream. Immediately after a house on the right we find, quite close to the road, the remains of the ancient aqueducts. It then rises slightly and reaches the high-road at Cavamonte, where we should find the car.

We must now return to the modern high-road which we left at Castiglione. It follows almost certainly the line of an ancient road and leads straight towards Tivoli. Except for the scenery there is little of interest on the road, and in about five kilometres we reach the Osteria delle Capannelle, which to-day, as in ancient times, is an important road-centre. The road to the left follows the line of an ancient one to Ponte Lucano on the Tiburtina. There are no important remains along its course, but it crosses a wild and picturesque bit of country. In winter, however, it is well to remember that if the Aniene is in flood there is a small stretch of the road near Ponte Lucano which is always under water, though, even then, I have never myself found it impassable.

The road on the right branches immediately after the Osteria; the branch on the left is the Strada di Poli and leads to the village of that name and to the remains of the aqueducts (see p. 203). We continue the road on the right, which leads to Zagarolo, and ascends a valley called Fosso dell' Acqua Nera. We see to the left of the road a village, or rather a few houses, on a lofty and isolated plateau. This is almost certainly the site of some ancient town of difficult identification. The modern name CORCOLLE has led many to place here the ancient Querquetula, a city that is only mentioned by Pliny and by Dionysius among the early Latin towns, but there is no evidence to enable us to fix its position. In 1111 Henry V imprisoned Pope Paschal II and some of the cardinals in the Castle of Corcolle.

A couple of miles farther on we come to the great Castle of PASSERANO, one of the largest and best preserved in the Campagna. It stands on a narrow ridge with precipitous sides between two deep valleys and was certainly an ancient site; but again there is hardly any evidence to identify it. It may perhaps have been Scaptia, a Latin town that in 332 B.C. gave its name to one of the tribes which was created after the close of the great Latin war. The identification rests on a dubious addition in Festus which would place it near Pedum, the site of which is also uncertain. Its mediaeval history, on the other hand, is well known and indeed illustrious. It is first mentioned in the tenth century, when it belonged to the monastery of Subiaco and we hear of a cell in honour of S. Benedict. In 1059 it was held by the Crescenzi, who received the antipope Benedict. It then passed into the possession of the monastery of S. Paolo and seems to have become the State prison of Rome, or perhaps of the Papacy. The antipope Gregorio Burdino in 1121 and the famous Senator Brancalone degli Andaló of Bologna in 1255 were first imprisoned in the ruins of the Septizonium and then transferred to Passerano; both were enemies of the Papacy. The latter's imprisonment here was very severe, but he was at length freed because Bologna held some Roman hostages. On July 23rd 1414 King Ladislaus of Naples stopped here for a week in his retreat from Perugia. He

was dying, and a letter is extant which was written and sealed at Passerano but which he did not sign 'on account of his headache'. He was then taken to S. Paolo whence a galley took him to Naples to die. In 1430 the monks were allowed to sell the castle—which, with its garrison, was a great expense—to the Colonna, and six years later it was stormed by Cardinal Vitelleschi during his campaign against that family. The Colonnas recovered it, but its importance grew less and less, so that in the next century it is spoken of as a casale. In 1622 it was sold to the Ludovisi, who in 1670 sold it to the Rospigliosi, the present owners. It is one of the best-preserved castles of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries with a double girdle of walls. The west side is very fine and its appearance, as seen from the other side of the stream, is most imposing. The main terrace of the castle is now a vegetable garden. The house itself contains little of interest.

The road continues for another five kilometres and then reaches Cavamonte, where it crosses the Praenestina (for the road to the left to Gallicano and Palestrina, see p. 190). The road goes straight on to ZAGAROLO, a curious village occupying a position of great strength on a very narrow ridge nearly a mile long with deep ravines on either side and steep approaches to the north and south. It is certainly an ancient site, but it is again impossible to identify it. Pedum is more probably to be placed at Gallicano; the best claimant is Bola, which was certainly near Labicum (Monte Compatri), but it would therefore be more probably on the other side of the valley. In Imperial times it formed a part of the great Imperial state of S. Cesario (p. 159), and in the Middle Ages belonged successively to the Counts of Tusculum and the Colonna. In 1295 Cardinal Giacomo Colonna received Boniface VIII with great honour in the castle, but shortly afterwards, during the war between the Pope and the Cardinal, it was captured and destroyed. After the election of Urban VI in 1378 the French cardinals took refuge in Zagarolo before the Great Schism. It was again destroyed by Cardinal Vitelleschi in 1439 during his war with the Colonna, but it was restored to the family and in 1569 it was raised to a Duchy. In 1622

it was sold to Cardinal Ludovisi to pay the enormous debts of Marzio Colonna. In 1670 it was bought by the Rospigliosi, who still possess it. It is usually approached from the Labicana by a road which rises through a square containing a large ancient basin of granite and then passes under a wing of the great palace, which was built in 1722 as a kind of triumphal gateway. It is a curious but rather handsome building partly decorated with ancient marbles. The principal portion of the palace itself was built by Marzio Colonna, who destroyed most of the ancient castle that formerly occupied the site. The Commission of Theologians appointed to revise the text of the Vulgate, including the B. Cardinal Bellarmine, met here in 1591. A little farther on we pass a small portico that was the *pesa*, the place where the standard weights and measures were kept. The Palazzo Comunale is a handsome Colonna building with a frieze of sirens, a symbol of the victory of Lepanto.

We must now return to Cavamonte and follow the Via Praenestina to its final destination. The road crosses the ridge through a very deep and picturesque cutting which is certainly an ancient one subsequently enlarged and deepened. It is then carried over the valley on the other side by a bridge, which is the one that carried the aqueducts; the road bridge, now called the Ponte Amato, can be seen to the right. It is a most perfect specimen of Roman bridge, the roadway being nineteen feet wide with parapets on either side. On the other side of the valley the road turns sharply to the right, almost at right angles. The other road that goes straight on leads to GALLICANO, a most beautifully situated village, where most topographers place the ancient city of Pedum, which was the centre of hostilities during the great Latin war of 339 B.C. and was stormed by Camillus. Caesar and Tibullus had villas in the district. The present village, except for its position, offers nothing of interest; its mediaeval history is that of most of the castles in the district, successively owned by the Abbey of Subiaco, the Monastery of S. Paolo, the Colonna, and the Rospigliosi. Feudal jurisdiction was abolished only in 1848. The road

continues past it and joins the road to Poli at the Villa Catena (p. 204).

The Via Praenestina, after the turn, runs under the large Villa S. Pastore, the beautiful summer residence of the German College, and continues in an almost straight line along the top of the ridge to Palestrina. The ancient roadway is very well preserved to the left of the present road. The remains of antiquity are not numerous until close to Palestrina. About half-way, at the ancient twenty-first milestone, we pass the Chapel of the Madonna della Stella, and over a mile farther on we pass to the right of the Torrione Frocina, a large brick tomb of the end of the second century, while on the left are the grounds of the fine Villa Frattini. Very soon a path diverges to the left and passes in front of the Villa Carletti, which is built on the site of an ancient villa with a fine cryptoporticus which preserves its ancient decoration in fresco. The road crosses a depression over the Ponte Sarrone, an ancient embankment, and on the other side, to the left, we find an enormous platform. Other platforms and reservoirs are to be seen farther up the hill-side near S. Francesco. The road now reaches the main modern road to Palestrina which comes from the Casilina, and we turn up the hill to the left to visit the city.

PALESTRINA

Πολυστέφανος—The many-crowned.

—STRABO

Praeneste, more than any other city in Latium, has had a glorious history both in ancient and in mediaeval times. Its earliest history is quite unknown; Virgil, who in this case follows the oldest Italic tradition, says that it was founded by Caeculus, the son of Vulcan, who is probably an early solar divinity connected with fire:

*Nec Praenestinae fundator defuit urbis,
Volcano genitum pecora inter agrestia regem
inventumque focus omnis quem credidit aetas
Caeculus.*

—VIRGIL, Aeneid, VII, 678-681

Others again ascribed it to Telegonus, the son of Ulysses, or to a certain Praenestos, his supposed grandson, while Strabo considers it of Greek origin. In early times it must have been one of the most important towns in central Italy through its very strong position dominating the valley of the Sacco, then as now one of the chief routes to Campania and the South. It seems to have reached the height of its prosperity during the seventh century B.C., when the Etruscan Empire extended down to Capua, and Praeneste itself was probably governed by a small number of Etruscan nobles whose wealth and taste we can still appreciate from the treasures of the Bernardini tomb in the Museo Pigorini and of the Barberini tomb in the Museo di Villa Giulia. The civilization of the town at that time was very similar to that of Caere in Etruria proper and is strongly influenced by the East. Communications with Etruria and Veii were probably maintained through Gabii and Fidenae. The actual Etruscan domination was a short one, for in the sixth century we find it a member of the Latin League, from which it withdrew in 499 B.C. to form an alliance with Rome. After the Gallic invasion there was marked hostility between Praeneste and Rome, the former joining the Volsci to destroy Satricum, being defeated at the Allia by Cincinnatus in 380 B.C. During the great Latin war of 340-338 it was one of the most formidable enemies of Rome, and the defeat of its forces by Camillus at Pedum brought the struggle to an end. But even after the peace it preserved its legal independence although with a much smaller territory, and its tombs once more prove its wealth and prosperity during the fourth century. As late as the time of Polybius it was still a city which could afford shelter to persons banished from Rome. During the Punic Wars its contingents in the Roman army greatly distinguished themselves by the defence of Casilinum after the battle of Cannae.

It remained a nominally independent city till the close of the Social War, when, in 90 B.C., it received full Roman citizenship and became a municipium. But in 82 B.C. Sulla, who had ended the Mithridatic War, moved against Rome, determined to avenge the blood shed by Marius and Cinna.

The army of the younger Marius attempted to stop his advance along the Latin Way, and at Sacriportus, somewhere between Segni and Palestrina, perhaps near the present Valmontone, a terrible battle was fought. Marius was completely defeated and took refuge within the strong walls of Praeneste. Sulla at once laid siege to the town and at length forced it to surrender. Marius committed suicide, most of the inhabitants were butchered, and the city itself was sacked and destroyed. On the site of the town Sulla rebuilt on a colossal scale the Temple of Fortune, making it one of the largest and most magnificent buildings in Italy. At the same time he placed a garrison on the acropolis and founded a Roman colony in the plain at the foot of the hill. During the first century B.C. it is still spoken of as a strong place; Catiline wished to seize it and L. Antonius and Fulvia took refuge there after their break with Octavian.

Under the Empire, Praeneste became a fashionable resort like Tibur, and villas grew up all round it. The scenery is no doubt magnificent and the air is healthy, yet it is not easy to understand why it was especially chosen as a cool summer residence. Horace, Juvenal, Florus, all speak of it as a summer resort, with epithets such as *gelidum*, *frigidum*, *aestivum*, which could hardly be applied at the present day. Here Horace re-read Homer, perhaps in a villa belonging to Augustus. This villa was possibly inherited by Tiberius, who here recovered from a dangerous illness. In gratitude he restored to the town the privileges of a municipium which had been taken from it by Sulla. Hadrian built another villa, perhaps the one near the modern cemetery where the Antinous Braschi was found, and here Marcus Aurelius was living when he lost his young son Annius Verus. Pliny the Younger had one of his numerous villas in this district.

In A.D. 274 we hear of the martyrdom of S. Agapitus, and in 313 we have the first mention of a bishop in what must have been, owing to the fame of its oracle, one of the strongholds of paganism. Symmachus mentions that he had a villa here. During the Middle Ages the town which grew up on the site of the Temple of Fortune was known as

Civitas Praenestina, whence Penestrina and the modern Palestrina.

In 970 Pope John XIII gave it to his sister Stephania of the Counts of Tusculum. By the marriage of her granddaughter Emilia to Stefano de Columna, Palestrina in A.D. 1043 came into the hands of the Colonna family. Gregory VII laid claim to it as a lapsed fief, and Paschal II was able to take it from Petrus de Columna, who, however, seems to have recaptured it. The whole history of this period, together with the genealogy of the Tusculan and Colonna families is very uncertain. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it remained the great stronghold of the Colonna, till in 1297 the family revolted against Boniface VIII and the two Colonna cardinals declared his election uncanonical. The Pope answered by proclaiming a crusade, an action which shocked Dante and public opinion. The siege of Palestrina was long-protracted, and it is said that the Pope called Guido da Montefeltro, one of the cleverest Italian nobles, from the convent where he had retired to advise him how to capture the city. At first Guido refused to answer, but the Pope gave him 'absolution' from the sin he might commit in helping him :

*Fin or t'assolvo, e tu m'insegna fare
Si come Penestrino in terra getti.*

—DANTE, *Inf.*, xxvii, 101

The Count of Montefeltro then advised the Pope to promise the besieged fair terms of peace should they surrender, and then to break his word. The Pope did so and next year the two cardinals came to Rieti and allowed the Pope, who had promised that he would reinstate them in all their honours, to occupy the city. Boniface then gave orders that the city should be razed to the ground, that only the cathedral should be spared, and that the site, like that of Carthage, should be sown with salt. The orders were probably not executed too literally, but it is certain that many important remains of antiquity were destroyed.

After the fall of Boniface the Colonna regained possession of their confiscated estates and rebuilt the city. The petition they presented to obtain an indemnity for

their losses contains much interesting information as to the topography of the town. During the war between Eugenius IV and the Colonna, Palestrina was again captured by Cardinal Vitelleschi, who, in 1437, again ordered the town to be utterly destroyed. The damage was probably even greater than before ; not even the cathedral was spared ; its bells were carried off to Corneto and its marble doorposts used in the cardinal's palace in that town. Twelve men were chosen from every ward in Rome to demolish the city, and they were at work all through April. In 1447 Nicholas V allowed the Colonna to rebuild the city, which loses, however, much of its former importance since Paliano now becomes the principal fortress on the Neapolitan frontier. In 1630 the town was sold to Carlo Barberini, brother of Urban VIII, whose family took the title of Prince of Palestrina, while the vendors, to distinguish themselves from the Colonna, Duchi di Paliano, took the name of Colonna di Sciarra. About a century later, however, they again obtained Palestrina by the marriage of Giulio Colonna di Sciarra with the heiress of Urbano Barberini (*d.* 1722), and took the name of Barberini-Colonna. On the death in 1889 of the last male representative of the family, the Marchese Sacchetti, who had married the heiress, was allowed to assume the name of Barberini and the title of Prince of Palestrina.

The ancient ruins now to be seen in the town are almost entirely those of the great Temple of Fortune as rebuilt by Sulla. The responses of the oracle were given by lots, carved on wood, shuffled and drawn by a child. These lots—the *Sortes Fortunae Primigeniae Praenestinae*—were discovered by a certain Numerius Suffucius, who was ordered by frequent dreams to break open the rock at a certain spot. The place where the discovery took place was enclosed, and near it was a shrine of Jupiter Puer, who was represented, together with Juno, as a babe in the lap of Fortune and was worshipped by matrons. At the time of the discovery of the lots honey flowed out of a neighbouring olive-tree, the wood of which was used to make the box to contain the lots ; the site itself was later occupied by the actual shrine of Fortune. The origins and meaning

of the cult belong to the history of Italic religion ; we can only enumerate a few of the interesting facts about it. In the third century B.C. the Consul Lutatius Catulus (or perhaps his brother Cerco) wished to consult the oracle, but was stopped by the Senate on the ground that a Roman should not consult foreign oracles. In 168 B.C. Prusias, King of Bithynia, made offerings to the goddess. The famous philosopher Carneades visited the temple in the course of his embassy to Rome in 155 B.C., and characteristically remarked that he had never seen a Fortune more fortunate than at Praeneste. Sulla considered himself under the protection of Fortune, and for this reason perhaps rebuilt the temple with such extraordinary magnificence. In Cicero's day consultation of the lots was considered a vulgar superstition, and Tiberius attempted to put a stop to it by ordering the box with the lots to be taken to Rome. But when the sealed box was opened in Rome the lots had disappeared, and Tiberius, terrified at the portent, restored it to Praeneste, whereupon the lots returned to their dwelling. This story of Suetonius represents Tiberius as most improbably naïf. The sortes are supposed to have foretold the assassination of Domitian and were consulted by Alexander Severus. The temple was finally closed by the decree of Theodosius in A.D. 392.

The present city, as also the ancient one, may be considered a vast triangle with the apex on the hill and the base turned due south towards the plain. The city destroyed by Sulla was strongly fortified with walls of 'Cyclopean' masonry and was connected by two long walls, still well preserved, with the acropolis on the top of the hill, where now is Castel S. Pietro. The two side walls and many of the terrace walls inside the city were utilized by Sulla's architects for the terraces of the temple, but the great south wall was removed and substituted by the supporting wall of the lowest terrace.

Whether we arrive by the Praenestina or by the Labicana we drive up the road towards the town which, when it reaches the Chapel of S. Lucia, turns sharply to the right and passes in front of the lowest terrace of the temple. The first object on our left is a great wall of brick-faced

concrete decorated with a series of niches. It forms the front of a vast ten-chambered reservoir which was built by the Flavians against the west end of the great south wall. Immediately after the reservoir we begin to see the front of this supporting wall of *opus quadratum* of the time of Sulla. Although the principal platform of the temple could be reached by the Via Praenestina, which corresponds to the road on which we are, the Via degli Arconi, there was a monumental entrance for foot-passengers on the main axis of the building in this lower wall. This entrance, which has now been blocked up, is not easy to find; it should be sought almost immediately after we have passed a large brick building on the right of the road. After the gateway the east part of the supporting wall had an arcade in front of it, probably used for shops and booths, of which considerable traces are visible in the modern houses. The road continues below the recently laid-out public gardens, takes a hairpin turn, and enters the town by the Porta S. Maria in the east polygonal wall, which is visible both above and below it. It is probably the ancient gate, for we can see some remains of a gate tower. The picturesque Porta del Sole, a little to the south, down the hill, was perhaps a small postern. The streets of the city immediately within these two gates show many traces of ancient walls, belonging either to supporting walls of the terraces or to reservoirs.

From the Porta S. Maria the Via Anicia leads to the main square decorated by a recent monument to Palestrina's most famous son, the musician. The square, where we inquire for the custodian of the antiquities, occupies the site of the ancient Forum, the Forum in which Verrius Flaccus set up his famous calendar, some fragments of which, the *Fasti Praenestini*, are now in the Museo delle Terme, and was probably that of the Roman colony in the fields to the south of the present town. In order to understand the principal group of ancient buildings, probably the actual Temple of Fortune, we must remember that, while the ancient level of the square was much lower than the present one, the buildings to the north of it were at a very much higher level.

The Cathedral of S. Agapito, which closes the square on the west, is built into the oldest edifice of the town, which has been terribly modernized. It is of early squared masonry which has been pierced so as to form a nave and aisles. On the façade Professor Marucchi has discovered traces of the famous sundial mentioned by Varro. This building, which is perhaps the Senate house of the earlier Praeneste, is on the central axis of the whole group of buildings and stood on a podium with steps reaching down to the level of the Forum, as may be seen in the open excavation along its side. Behind it there was probably a colonnade, one base of which may be seen in this excavation.

We now turn to the group of buildings to the north, now incorporated in the Diocesan Seminary, behind Palestrina's statue. According to most authorities this is the actual Temple of Fortune, which, however, was not entered from the Forum, since it stood on a terrace at a higher level. The façade which we see is in *opus incertum* of the time of Sulla and is decorated by four engaged columns of the Corinthian order. Their bases correspond to the level of the temple terrace, and therefore they now appear suspended in the air. In ancient times a portico probably ran in front of the lower part of the building below the columns. In this part, at the same level as the Forum, is the aerarium, or treasury (opened by the custodian), a vaulted chamber which, as is proved both by the masonry and by the inscription, is of an earlier period than Sulla. It now contains a small collection of antiquities, including part of an Egyptian obelisk.

We now walk along the Corso Pierluigi, the main street of the town, and, turning to the right into the Vicolo del Duomo, which is approximately on the site of the Temple of Jupiter Puer, we reach the cave in the hill-side where Numerius was supposed to have discovered the lots (it is opened by the custodian). The hill-side has been artificially scarped and the cave was approached through an open courtyard. It is difficult to know how the entrance to the cave itself was treated, but the whole surface of the rock was probably decorated with a façade similar to that

of the temple itself. The floor of the grotto still preserves a considerable portion of the original mosaic, very similar to that from the temple, which we shall see in the Barberini Palace. Like the latter, it is evidently inspired by some Alexandrine book of natural history dealing with the marine fauna of the Egyptian coast. The site is clearly indicated by a representation of the great Pharos at Alexandria. The portion of mosaic preserved shows a number of fishes, langouste, cuttle-fish, etc., all represented with remarkable accuracy. It is very probable that the artist copied the illustrations of some well-known Hellenistic book. Most of the ancient fragments now in the court in front of the cave do not belong to the temple but have been collected here in recent years ; they mostly belong to the earliest necropolis.

We now pass to the remains of a large building of Sullan date which united the Temple of Fortune with the Cave of the Lots, passing behind the Curia at a higher level. From the extant remains it appears to have been a kind of basilica and was almost certainly roofed. The cliff face was scarped and a wall of *opus incertum* was built in front of it, decorated with engaged columns which correspond to the bases still to be seen in the centre of the pavement. There was probably a second story, of which traces can be seen at the corner nearest the temple, and the whole building was lit by windows on the south side corresponding to the false windows in the north wall. To the right of the present entrance the custodian opens the small museum, housed in a hall belonging to the cathedral. Some columns walled up in the south wall belong to a colonnade that ran along the front of the 'Basilica'. The museum contains little of importance ; a few cistae and other objects from the fourth-century tombs and a number of marbles and inscriptions of Imperial date.

At the east end of the 'Basilica' is the Diocesan Seminary incorporating the remains of the ancient Temple of Fortune, of which we have already seen the façade towards the Forum. The main, if not the only, entrance was from the 'Basilica'. The interior of the temple is now very dark, since all the windows have been closed while a considerable

portion still awaits exploration in the cellars of the seminary, which occupy all the south half. It is, like the outside, of *opus incertum* decorated with applied columns and pilasters; all round the lower part of the wall runs a podium with a Doric cornice similar to the one on the sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus in the Vatican. The statue of the Divinity, which Pliny says was gilt with gold leaves of exceptional thickness, probably stood in the central niche in the apse-shaped grotto on the north side. The floor of this grotto was covered with the mosaic now in the Barberini Palace.

We now leave the lower temple and either on foot or by car we climb the steep hill to see the remains of the upper terraces that formed a kind of monumental frame to the earlier buildings and may have been used for great popular festivals for which there was no room in the lower part of the temple. The ascent on foot is fatiguing but interesting. We go up the Via delle Scalette and find ourselves in the Via del Borgo, which occupies the terrace that united the lower and the upper buildings. We then ascend to the Via del Colonnaro, which forms the last portion of the carriage road and runs along the front of the topmost terrace, of which considerable remains are visible. This terrace was laid out as a large square surrounded by arcades on three sides. The arcade on the north supported a stepped hemicycle like a theatre with an open colonnade at the top. Behind the centre of this portico there was a round building of uncertain purpose.

The chief remains of these structures are to be seen in Piazza della Cortina built into the Barberini Palace. The present palace was built by Francesco Colonna after Vitelleschi had destroyed the earlier one, which was itself a reconstruction of the one destroyed by Boniface VIII. In a petition for damages presented by the Colonna after the death of Boniface they mention their palace, which, so they said, had been built in the ruins of the palace of Julius Caesar, since the building (i.e. the hemicycle) was in the shape of a C, the first letter of his name. In the lower part of the palace we see the arcades of the square, which were decorated with Corinthian pilasters. The



PALAZZO BARBERINI



INTERIOR OF THE TEMPLE OF FORTUNE

PALESTRINA



semicircular flight of steps is perfectly preserved, but the fine Renaissance well-head is, of course, an addition. In the wall at the top of the hemicycle we can see the remains of the podium which supported the colonnade and some column bases and shafts (better seen from some of the windows in the interior).

The entrance to the Museo Barberini is on the left of the palace, up the steps. We enter through a round building behind the hemicycle which, in the Colonna petition, is said to have been like the Pantheon in Rome. The chief object of interest is the famous mosaic which was discovered in the apse of the temple in 1638. It is the largest and perhaps the finest ancient mosaic in existence, and, although it has not yet been adequately studied, it is one of the most interesting documents of antiquity. It represents the aspect of Roman Egypt during the inundation. At the top are the mountains of Aethiopia, with a collection of animals, some real and some fabulous, probably taken from some Alexandrine treatise on natural history, like the fishes in the similar mosaic in the Cave of the Lots. The large Egyptian temples in the centre may perhaps suggest the monuments of Thebes, while all the lower portion represents the Delta, with its mud houses, its osier barns and pergolas, its Hellenistic shrines and temples. The various costumes of the peasants, the Egyptian priests, the Hellenistic bourgeoisie, and the Roman soldiers are extremely interesting, while the plants, the fishes, the animals, and the boats are rendered with great accuracy and variety. The date of the mosaic is very uncertain; the inscriptions over the figures would seem to date it in the reign of Domitian or a little earlier if we consider the beauty of the technical execution. On the other hand, the subject seems to be drawn from the illustrations to some Hellenistic *Description de l'Egypte* which must have been eagerly sought after during the craze for Egyptian things under the Julio-Claudians. The suggestion that the sophist Aelian, a native of Praeneste, may have had a hand in the work is impossible, but he probably made use in his own work on zoology of the same book or books which were used by the makers of the mosaic. The other

objects in the museum are of less interest. There are some inferior bronze cistae before the windows of the central room, from which we can enjoy one of the most superb panoramas in Italy. The room on the right contains memories of the Barberini-Colonna di Sciarra, and, as may be seen by the coat of arms, was frescoed on the occasion of the marriage; there are some other frescoes by the Zuccari. In the room to the left are a number of stone and marble fragments and inscriptions. Some of the altars and pieces of decorative sculpture are well worth examining.

Visitors should ask the custodian to show the family chapel of S. Rosalia. We first enter a small, very plain chapel with a number of Barberini tombs and, over the altar, a magnificent unfinished Deposition, sculptured in the native rock and attributed to Michael Angelo. To the right, down the corridor is the handsome Chapel of S. Rosalia built in 1660. It is very rich in coloured marbles and alabaster, and some of the sculptures by Bernini and his pupils are very good.

Above the town is the acropolis of the earliest city, which still preserves portions of its polygonal walls. It was turned into a castle by the Colonna and is now called Castel S. Pietro. The view is superb. The road goes on to Capranica and Ciciliano or Subiaco, but it is much more attractive when taken the other way (p. 259).

THE AQUEDUCTS

The numerous ravines which run parallel to the hills were crossed by the aqueducts on lofty bridges, which are still well preserved and among the most imposing and interesting examples of Roman engineering. It is a 'vulgar error' to suppose that the Romans did not know the principle of the siphon; it was invariably used for the distribution in a town itself and on a very large scale in the aqueducts of Lyons and Alatri. But the Roman engineers could not use cast-iron pipes and their great difficulty was

to build a pipe line that could stand the immense pressure. It was therefore easier, safer, and on the whole cheaper to maintain the level and avoid water pressure. The sport of aqueduct trailing is a delightful one, which entails, however, a very considerable amount of physical energy. The sides of the valleys are precipitous and the paths bad and not always easy to find. It is distinctly a winter pastime, for in the spring and autumn the undergrowth is usually so thick that it may to a considerable extent hide the ruins and render the going still more difficult.

After the Osteria delle Cappannelle (p. 188) we take the road to Poli, and, leaving the road to S. Vittorino (p. 224) to the left, we run along the narrow plateau which separates the Fosso di Acqua Rossa on the right from the Fosso S. Vittorino on the left. The scenery is indescribably grand and desolate, with hardly a house in sight or any trace of cultivation. After the twenty-eighth kilometre stone a path on the right leads down into the valley to the Ponte Lupo, the grandest of all the bridges, of which we may have caught glimpses from afar, like a huge red dam across the valley. Here the four aqueducts meet, and therefore the original bridge, built for the Anio Vetus alone, was ultimately enlarged and modified out of all recognition. It is an amazing palimpsest of different constructions and is so complicated that it is impossible to describe it even briefly. The upper arches, in masonry, are those of the Claudia and the Anio Novus, while below the level of the roadway run the channels of the Marcia and the Anio Vetus. But, archaeological interest apart, its immense size, the vegetation that covers it, and the solitude of the valley render it one of the most impressive of the ancient ruins of Italy.

Continuing along the road we come to the large Casale S. Giovanni on the right ; on the other side of the road is a large reservoir, and soon after it another path leads down the ravine on the left. Here we find the Ponte S. Pietro for the transit of the Aqua Marcia, and farther down the valley is another great bridge. Others exist in the other ravines, and it is possible to visit them all, ending up with

the magnificent Ponte S. Antonio below Gericomio, where we can reach the road of S. Gregorio from Tivoli.

The road to Poli reaches the beautiful Villa Catena, the unfinished villa of the Conti, and a road on the right leads to Gallicano. POLI itself was an ancient fief of the Conti, which divided into the two branches of the Conti di Valmontone and Segni and of the Dukes of Poli. The latter branch was the last to die out ; the title and most of the estates passed to the Torlonia, while the office of Master of the Holy Hospice passed to the Ruspoli. In the Conti chapel are the only three existing fragments of the apsidal mosaic in old S. Peter's ; they are the portraits of the two Conti Popes, Innocent III and Gregory IX, and the phoenix that stood on the palm-tree at the side of the composition.

CHAPTER X

THE VIA TIBURTINA. HADRIAN'S VILLA AND TIVOLI

*Hic tibi jam liceat curis procul urbe soluto
Ducere sollicitae incunda oblivia vitae.*

INSCRIPTION AT GERICOMIO

THIS is the most interesting excursion from Rome, appealing alike to the archaeologist, the lover of art, and the lover of nature. Hadrian's Villa can be visited in the morning and Tivoli after lunch ; indeed one has heard of people who have gone on to Frascati for tea. This can be done only by visiting in Tivoli itself Villa d'Este alone, but the town contains so many other objects of great interest that it should certainly be given a full day. The steam tramway, which follows almost throughout the line of the road, is slow and somewhat ridiculous, but will delight all sensible persons who are becoming weary of ubiquitous efficiency. Travellers by it who know a little of the language should be able to recapture some of the charm of travel by diligence. The road is, at the time of writing, excellent, one of the best round Rome, and till the ascent to Tivoli, almost flat. As a communication with Tibur it was of great antiquity and retained its importance since in later times it became the first section of the Via Valeria which led to the Abruzzi and the Adriatic.

The Via Tiburtina left the Aurelian walls by an archway originally built by Augustus in A.D. 5 for the three aqueducts, the Marcia, Tepula, and Julia. The level of the ground rose rapidly, and in the time of Aurelian the imposts of the gate were deeply buried. The gateway has recently been excavated and closed ; the road therefore passes by a breach in the walls under the channel of the Aqua Felice. The construction of the depressing district

of S. Lorenzo, bounded by a railway, a hospital, and a cemetery (the close proximity of the two latter institutions is a good example of town-planning), has almost entirely obliterated the line of the ancient road, which was found, together with some tombs, in building the tramway station. Somewhere on this portion of the road was the tomb of Pallas, the certainly efficient and probably maligned minister of Claudius, whose epitaph, mentioning the fact that the Senate had voted him the Praetorian insignia and fifteen million sesterces in recognition of his services, greatly annoyed the younger Pliny. The ancient road did not pass through the modern cemetery, the Campo Verano, a name probably derived from its owners in classical times, but followed more or less the modern road, for there are two separate groups of catacombs on either side. On the right is the great cemetery of S. Cyriaca, in which S. Laurence was buried; it has been much damaged by the construction of the modern cemetery, begun in 1837, and is entered from the basilica of S. Lorenzo. On the left is the catacomb of S. Hippolytus, most mysterious of early saints. In it was found the statue now in the Lateran Museum, and it was described by Prudentius in a beautiful hymn.

The road now crosses the railway to Florence and enters the district of ancient villas, a number of which are of Republican date. A very fine one was discovered in the construction of the fort to the right of the road, camouflaged by a plantation. Traces of the foundations of a tomb may be seen just beyond the entrance to the fort. The road now emerges from the cutting and approaches the Anio, leaving the ancient road on the right. From the modern bridge one can see the old one, the famous Ponte Mammolo; the name is not classical and its origin is uncertain, but it is as old as the tenth century. Like other bridges over the Anio it was probably cut by Totila and restored by Narses, and was again destroyed by the French in 1849, but part of one of the arches is ancient. Here in 1111 Pope Paschal II, after having been kept a prisoner for sixty-one days, concluded an agreement with the Emperor Henry V by which he agreed to crown him emperor and surrendered

completely on the question of the investitures. Fortunately a Council convoked immediately after Henry V had returned to Germany tore up the provisions of the treaty, to which Paschal had only consented in order to spare the lives of the numerous Roman prisoners.

Immediately beyond the modern bridge is a large chemical factory ; on the left a road leads to the Via Nomentana at Casal dei Pazzi. At this point the modern road resumes the course of the ancient one. Farther on, at the eighth kilometre, a road on the left leads to the Via Nomentana near the ruins of Coazzo. The road on the right crosses the Anio and leads eventually to the Tuscolana, crossing all the intervening roads. Immediately after crossing the river it enters a cutting in the tufa cliffs. Here, at a small osteria on the left, is the best preserved portion of the great GROTTA DI CERVARA, the most accessible example of a large Roman quarry. The variety of tufa is not very good, being soft and of a reddish colour, but it was easy to work and the river furnished easy transport. Great piers were left to support the ceiling as the cuttings extended ever deeper into the side of the hill, and on a bright day the effects of light and shade in these great vaults are unforgettable. Here in the good Romantic days, that is to say, from 1815 till 1890, used to be held the famous Artists' Carnival, a special favourite with the German artists in Rome ; after all, Romanticism is a German creation. The preparations were elaborate ; usually some historic scene, such as the triumph of Vitellius, was taken as the groundwork of the orgy, which took place on the birthday of Rome, April 21st, and the festivities culminated in a great banquet and a tourney in the fields. The artists started out from Rome at about 7 a.m. in a great well-ordered procession guarded by their own comic squadron of gendarmes, and reached Cervara at about noon, the hour of the banquet. In perusing the accounts of contemporary actors I find that after that hour they unfortunately grow incoherent, and I am thus unable to describe the return to Rome. The last 'Cervara' was commanded by Marcus Aurelius in person, who had for the day abandoned his pedestal on the Capitol. All the mules of the Roman

Campagna had been requisitioned, and some of the chief detachments of the army were the German artillery, with gun-carriages originally belonging to the papal army, and the Spanish contingent of Moors who, on the field by the caves, renewed their war with the Paladins of France. The festivities were called 'Olympiads', and the commemorative inscriptions may still be seen, cut on the soft tufa walls. The 'Cervara' at least died in health and vigour and has not shared the senile decay of the Carnival itself. Even the artists—even German artists—have grown up.

The next point of interest, after passing another road to the Nomentana, is SETTECAMINI, once an 'osteria' with, as its name implies, seven chimneys, now a hamlet developing into a village. A road diverges to the left, and, following the line of an ancient one which some authorities have considered the earliest road to Tivoli, leads to Monte Celio and Palombara. It is indeed the best and shortest route to the latter village, but motorists wishing to go there must get a permission from the War Office in Rome in order to cross the aviation ground. Some five or six kilometres from Settecamini, upon a hill to the left called Monte Incastro in the estate named Inviolata from having belonged to the Church In Via Lata, is a very interesting building, which has recently been excavated. It is a circular underground chamber approached by a long passage and constructed of very good brickwork of the second century. Above the brick cornice the dome is entirely decorated with white mosaic, one of the earliest examples of this type of decoration that became so popular in later times. After having been considered a nymphaeum and a tomb, it has been proved to have been a sanctuary of Hercules.

Continuing the Via Tiburtina from Settecamini we come at once on the right to a road which leads to Salone on the Collatina. The next road on the left leads to the Montecelio road, the old Via di Palombara and the Via Nomentana. The next road on the right leads to Lunghezza, the ancient Collatia on the Via Collatina. Farther on the tramway leaves the road and at this point are the remains of a

church dedicated to S. Symphorosa and her seven sons, local martyrs. Then we soon come to a considerable piece of the Roman pavement on the left of the roadway. On a height to the left rises the large and fine Castell' Arcione. This castle, which has recently been restored, belonged to the important Ghibelline family of the Arcioni, whose name derived from the arches of the aqueducts in which they had built their Roman house. Still farther on, and on the left, is the large farm called Tor dei Sordi, another Roman family of the Middle Ages.

The road now descends into the wide plain of the Aquae Albulae, and, if the wind is blowing from the east, the odour of the waters is at once noticeable. The rock changes from volcanic tufa to travertine incrustations of carbonate of lime from the springs. Most of this plain used to be covered by the waters from the springs, and to the left of the road the Lago dei Tartari was in existence till a few years ago, but the deposits are so rapid and considerable that these lakes soon become choked up. A road on the left, following an ancient line, leads to MONTE CELIO, one of the three hills that form such a characteristic feature of the landscape on this side. It was called in the Middle Ages Monticelli and is undoubtedly an ancient site, though it is impossible to identify it with any of the numerous 'lost cities of Latium'. It is, however, probable that the Montes Corniculani are the three summits of Montecelio, Poggio Cesi, and S. Angelo. All round the slopes of the hill of Montecelio are numerous and sometimes very extensive remains of ancient villas; a very large one indeed, with a great oval water reservoir, is to the left of the modern road. During the Middle Ages it was a very important fortress and belonged to the Abbey of S. Paolo, then passed to the Conti, to the Orsini, to the Cesi, and to the Borghese. But its chief title to fame is that if it was the ancient Corniculum, which is extremely doubtful, it was the birthplace of Servius Tullius, a person who may never have existed. The village itself is a typical small mediaeval one with nothing of particular interest except the castle, in which are the well-preserved remains of the cella of a small temple of brick resting on a stylobate and with

Corinthian pilasters. It was turned into the castle chapel.

Returning to the Via Tiburtina we enter the modern village of BAGNI, which has grown up round the bathing establishment of the Aquae Albulae. These famous waters are a very whitish-blue in colour and are strongly impregnated with sulphuretted hydrogen and carbonate of lime, facts which are self-obvious. At one time they must have covered all the plain and eventually found their way into the Anio: '*Illic sulphureos cupit Albula mergere crines*' (Stat. Syl., III, 75). Their temperature is moderate, only about 75° Fahr., and they are therefore described as cold waters by Strabo and Vitruvius. Often, especially on a coldish morning, they throw off a very large quantity of vapour which forms a thick bank of fog: '*Canaque sulphureis Albula fumat aquis*' (Mart., I, XII, 2). They were very popular as a cure in Roman times. Augustus in his old age became somewhat of a valetudinarian (he used to take two days to go to Tivoli) and considered that baths were bad for his health, but he used to sit over a wooden tub at the Albula, into which he occasionally dipped a hand or a foot. Nero is said to have brought the water to Rome for his Golden House. At present they are much frequented during the summer 'when a bath is not at all unpleasant, and the strong smell is not noticed after a short while'. I give this fact on the authority of Dr. Ashby, who, unlike myself, has been brave enough to try. The monotony of the road through the village has recently been relieved by the erection of numerous signboards bearing the names of almost every imaginable disease, but we are not informed if they are lost here or acquired.

A path to the right of the channel that brings the waters to the baths leads to the chief lake, which is well worth a visit. There are considerable remains of the old thermal establishment, which must have been very splendid. From inscriptions found here we know of a gentleman who dedicated a bronze portrait of his wife whose complexion had been restored by the treatment; a painting would have been more appropriate. Another inscription is of a man who had been wounded by a wild boar in Etruria, so the

ancient cures seem to have been as varied as the modern ones. The lake is called Lago della Regina from an association with Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, who, after being carried a captive in Aurelian's triumph, was given a villa in the neighbourhood, probably near the Casale S. Antonio, to the right, where 'the Syrian queen insensibly sank into a Roman matron' (Gibbon).

Returning to the high-road we leave Bagni, passing the core of an ancient tomb on the left and going under the embankment of the railway line to the Adriatic. The ancient road ran a considerable distance to the right, nearer the Anio. Beyond it are the vast quarries of Barco, so called from a hunting-lodge of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este. These quarries, after having been abandoned since Roman days, are now being extensively worked not only for the buildings of Rome itself but for America as well, where travertine 'marble' is a favourite material. The size of the Roman quarries is most impressive; five and a half million cubic metres of stone were extracted from here, and the frontage of the workings is over two and a half kilometres, absolutely perpendicular and with projecting buttresses. During the period in which the sulphur waters flowed freely over the plain, that is to say, between the abandonment of the quarries and the construction of the present canal by Cardinal Ippolito, this frontage was covered with a thick incrustation of carbonate of lime and transformed into a slope of 45°. By the banks of the Anio are a number of hillocks formed from the chippings of the blocks which were squared on the spot before being transported down the river. The vast extent of these refuse heaps proves the long use of the quarries.

We now approach the bridge on the Anio. Just before reaching it a road to the left leads to Palombara. We pass a small, square building like a ruined tomb, the Chapel of S. Hermes built by Hadrian IV (Nicholas Breakspear) who celebrated Mass here on the day of SS. Peter and Paul 1155. Frederic Barbarossa, who, after his coronation and subsequent 'strategic' retreat from Rome, had been attacking with more or less success the castles of the Roman nobles, attended this Mass in state, wearing his

crown. It is said that on this occasion Hadrian absolved all those who in the conflict with the Romans had shed human blood, because a soldier fighting against the enemies of the Empire and of the Church is not a murderer but an avenger. However dubious Hadrian's theology may be, the monuments of the only English Pope are so rare that this little chapel deserves attention.

The bridge itself is very interesting. There is no explanation of the present name Ponte Lucano, which it has borne since the twelfth century. The bed of the Anio has risen considerably and only the tops of the arches are now visible. There were originally five, one of which, probably the one on the farther side, is now buried. One of the arches shows signs of having been cut by Totila in the sixth century and restored by Narses. Beyond it is the mausoleum of the Plautii, one of the best preserved of Roman tombs. Like others of the same type it originally consisted of a low, square base, now almost invisible, supporting a round drum of concrete faced with travertine in which is the round sepulchral chamber. It was built by M. Plautius Silvanus, who was consul in 2 B.C. Two of the ancient inscriptions are framed by half columns and form a kind of façade on the road. The most interesting one refers to a certain Tiberius Plautius Silvanus who was consul in A.D. 74 and had taken part in the conquest of Britain under Claudius. His whole career is given in the greatest detail. The tomb, which dominated one of the chief strategic positions in the neighbourhood, was naturally turned into a fortress during the Middle Ages. It was restored in 1465 by Paul II, whose arms are still in evidence.

Just beyond the bridge a road to the right leads to the Osteria delle Capannelle on the Poliroad (see p. 187) and may be used as an alternative route for the return to Rome or to Frascati (via Osteria dell' Osa and Tor Carbone; see pp. 157, 183). It certainly follows the line of an ancient one, but, since it is very near the Anio, it is often under water in spring. The present road to Tivoli runs to the right of the ancient one which joined the Via Costantiniana (see *infra*). Some 500 yards from the bridge it passes to the left of two large rectangular tombs, which are also

visible from the tram. They are built of travertine masonry and support modern cottages. The upper part of each was decorated by a relief; one of these, with a man holding a horse, is still in place, while the other is at Villa Albani. They used to be considered pillars flanking the entrance to Hadrian's villa and were imitated by Asprucci in his entrance to the Villa Borghese in Rome. A little farther on we take the road to the right which, after crossing the old road to Tivoli, that certainly follows the line of an ancient one leading to the villas on the slopes of the hill, and the tramway line near the station, brings us to the modern entrance to the Villa Adriana.

THE VILLA ADRIANA

Ego nolo Caesar esse.

—FLORUS

The ruins of Hadrian's Villa are among the most beautiful in the world, but are still extremely puzzling to the archaeologist. The wise traveller will therefore allow himself to enjoy the beauties of nature and the mild romantic flavour of imposing ruins without bothering about 'What was this room used for?' In deference, however, to the people who want so much to see Hadrian's bedroom I have felt myself obliged to give some sort of description, hoping, however, that few persons will have the hardihood to read a guide-book at Villa Adriana on a fine spring or autumn day. A full day can easily be spent in dignified ease among the ruins, in the olive groves, or in the shade of the melancholy cypresses, but in that case visitors should remember to take their lunch with them, since the restaurant at the entrance to the villa is outside the limits of the Government property and is, moreover, far from perfect. A delightful but long and rough cross-country walk is through the excavations and the Villa Bulgarini to the Colle S. Stefano, where are the remains of the villa of the Vibii Vari, and so by the viaducts of the Fosso

Ponte Terra to the village of S. Vittorino, where one should have sent a car.

The history of the villa is obscure. We know that Hadrian, after his first tour of inspection of the Empire, withdrew in 125 to his Tiburtine villa, where 'according to the custom of happy rich people,' he passed his time in building and in other dignified pleasures. We know also that several parts of the villa were named after places which he had seen on his travels: '*Tiburтинam villam mire exaedicavit, ita ut in ea et provinciarum et locorum celeberrima nomina inscriberet: velut Lyceum, Academiam, Prytaneum, Canopum, Poecilen, Tempe vocaret. Et ut nihil praetermitteret, etiam inferos finxit.*' It has been a favourite pastime of artists and archaeologists since the Renaissance to try to identify the various existing remains with the names mentioned by the author of the 'Life'. With the exception of the Canopus these attempts cannot be said to have been successful, but for the sake of clearness I shall follow the traditional nomenclature. From the evidence of the remains themselves it is possible to say that the nucleus of Hadrian's building was formed by an earlier villa of the first century B.C., which, itself modified in the subsequent century, governed the orientation of the principal part of the domestic portion of the villa. Several of the buildings belonging to this earlier villa, which was built in very rough *opus incertum*, were retained by Hadrian and it is quite possible that it may have been his property before he became emperor. We should thus have an explanation for the curious choice of the site, which is not very attractive. It must have always been very hot in summer and cold in winter, and it can never have been particularly healthy. Moreover, Hadrian was a keen huntsman, and he cannot have had much sport here, even admitting that he carefully preserved the very extensive park. A higher situation, however, would scarcely have furnished a sufficient expanse of level ground for Hadrian's building mania. The construction went on during the emperor's second voyage, and he appears to have lived in it only after his return in 135; but his death in 138 took place at Baiae.

There are good reasons to suppose that it was by no means completed at that time, but that additions continued to be made to it right up to Diocletian. After that time there is absolutely no mention of it in any literary records. It was certainly not robbed of its statues and marbles, which have been found here in immense quantities from the sixteenth century to the present day, nor are there any traces of mediaeval habitations although a few lime-kilns have been found. Pius II, when he visited it in 1461, found it much in its present condition, and uses it to illustrate the vanity of all human pomps and glories. The first excavations took place under Alexander VI, and since that time more than 260 works of art have been recovered from the grounds and are scattered all over the world. In 1769 Gavin Hamilton conducted several campaigns here with extraordinary success, and most of the statues found passed into the hands of the Earl of Shelbourne and are now in Lansdowne House; he also discovered the famous Warwick vase. Piranesi continued the excavations and published a beautiful plan of the villa, which can still be consulted with profit since he saw much that has now disappeared.

In 1730 most of the area of the villa was bought by Count Fede, who built the small 'casino' and planted most of the pines and cypresses. In 1803 it passed to the Duca Braschi, and the estate was bought by the Italian Government after 1870. Several important portions of the villa are still private property, and though a few excavations have been made in recent years, the whole site would certainly repay far more systematic exploration.

The general plan of the ruins seems hopelessly confused especially since we have not now the plan of the gardens and parks which united the various constructions. But if we consider the orientation of the buildings we shall see that they can be divided into four main groups: (1) that of the so-called Poikile, running east to west, (2) that of the Imperial palace proper, built round the remains of an earlier villa and running north-west to south-east, (3) that of the Canopus, (4) that of the so-called Academy, a kind of smaller palace which is now outside the limits of the

State property. Nearly all the buildings of Hadrian are built in reticulated work of tufa with brick courses, but a considerable portion, which, however, can hardly be of different date, is built in small blocks of local tufa. The earlier villa was built in *opus incertum* with largish blocks of tufa, and it is perhaps possible to distinguish two periods at least in this construction.

A magnificent avenue of cypresses leads to the entrance. The space to the left was occupied by a large rectangular portico and garden which could shelter the spectators in the neighbouring theatres in case of rain. Immediately after the entrance we come to the small 'Greek Theatre'. It is built against a depression in the hill-side and could not have held more than about 500 spectators. In the Middle Ages it used to be a marsh and was only discovered in the excavations of Piranesi, who found a considerable number of works of art. The podium of the stage is well preserved, with the traces of the three doors in the back wall. The Doric column at the eastern entrance is certainly not *in situ*. The ends of the cavea are supported by short, vaulted corridors.

A path to the left leads to a group of ruins in the middle of the valley, with a stream which has been called the Peneus, while the valley itself has been identified with that of Tempe. Anything more unlike the real Vale of Tempe can hardly be imagined. It is largely artificial, having been used as a quarry for the tufa employed in the construction of the villa. The ruins here are now occupied by cultivators and have been called for no obvious reason a Palaestra. They are of interest only to the archaeologist and contain a few stuccoes. Following the main path with its fine cypresses we pass on the left the Casino Fede, built on an ancient platform, which appears to have been a later addition to the villa. It has been called a nymphaeum and there are considerable remains before its entrance of a large semicircular fountain. Here begins the magnificent grove on the terrace overlooking the Vale of Tempe.

The path continues along the side of the terrace of the nymphaeum, in which a vaulted passage, only partly

excavated, was either a cryptoporticus or a drain. To the left is a great terrace wall, belonging to a later extension of the palace. We now come to the first group of constructions, which was certainly all built by Hadrian. It is oriented according to the points of the compass and its chief feature is the great courtyard the north wall of which is in front of us. It has been called the 'Poikile' from the Stoa Poikile, the painted portico, in Athens, which had been painted by Polygnotus and which Hadrian is said to have reproduced in his villa. We know but little of the original Stoa Poikile, but it was certainly a very different building from the one we are examining. This latter is a huge formal garden with a tank in the centre and surrounded by porticoes on all sides. The ends were slightly curved like those of a circus. The north wall was more or less independent of the others; it had a portico on either side with a wooden roof, as may be seen by the holes for the beams, so that one side would certainly be in shade at any hour of the day. In an inscription it is called the 'Porticus Triumphi' and seven times its length was a mile. This proves it to have been used for the Roman 'constitutionals': '*Post prandium stabis aut passus mille meabis.*' The west end is rounded as though to afford passage for a chariot and enjoys a wonderful view over the Campagna. All this side of the villa is built on a huge artificial platform, and the substructures were divided up into a number of small rooms which housed the slaves or the Imperial Guard. At this point there are four stories of such rooms which communicated by means of external wooden balconies.

The central space round the tank was laid out as a formal garden, and almost opposite the door in the north wall, by which we entered, are the recently excavated remains of a very finely decorated room with three large exedrae, and a fountain on the side towards the garden. It was perhaps a summer dining-room. To the east of this is the so-called stadium, still unexcavated and filled by olive trees; it was probably another formal garden in the shape of a circus like the stadium on the Palatine adjoining the Flavian Palace. Its north end was straight with three

small rooms and was exactly on the axis of the Poikile. Beyond it are a number of curious rooms on the upper floor of which is one with latrines on either side, perhaps another dining-room. All this group of buildings is closed by a large cryptoporticus, the vault of which was decorated in painted stucco and lit by forty windows. Above it, reached by two stairs, is a fine courtyard, which was surrounded by a marble colonnade, the intercolumniations of which were closed by marble lattices. The windows of the cryptoporticus open on a wide, sunken way round the exterior of the quadriportico, while in the centre is a large tank, perhaps for fish, with bases for statues or similar decoration on the outside. This tank may, however, be a later addition.

We now return to the Poikile, passing by a set of baths which have been excavated in the last few years. The heating arrangements are very curious. A great circular room was lit by large windows to the south-east and was heated by underground furnaces. The tank, with steps round it for the bathers, did not contain water, for there are no drainage pipes. It was probably filled with sand, and the room was a *pelioecaminus* or place for sun-baths. The next rooms are the *tepidaria*, with the pavements supported on hypocausts. The cold bath had tanks in the niches and a large open-air basin closed by columns. The orientation of these baths is peculiar and seems to be connected with that of the so-called libraries, which we shall examine directly. We now re-enter the Poikile, where, at the eastern corner of the north wall, we find the last building of this group, the so-called Hall of the Philosophers, a very large hall with an apse.

This first group is connected with the second, that is to say, with the actual residential portion of the villa, by means of one of the strangest of ancient buildings. It consists of a very large round room about 130 feet in diameter, round which ran an Ionic portico with forty marble columns supporting a semicircular vault. The walls were decorated with frescoes and with inserted mosaics or reliefs. This portico is separated from the central portion of the building by a moat lined with marble, with an outlet

for the water on its northern side. The island thus formed was connected with the portico by means of four bridges on rollers which have left their traces on the marble lining; the present bridge, in masonry, is a very late addition. The buildings on the island itself were exquisitely decorated but are difficult to understand since there are traces of numerous alterations. It has been suggested that this was the emperor's private suite, where he retired when he did not wish to be disturbed, but the most recent suggestion is that it may have been an aviary. Varro has left a very accurate description of his one at Cassinum, which had a little island serving as a dining-room with water-fowl swimming round it. Of course, if this is an aviary, we must imagine all the buildings enclosed by fine nets. Pirro Ligorio, who may have been right for once, used these ruins for a reconstruction of Varro's aviary which is by no means unconvincing.

We now pass into the 'Cortile delle Biblioteche', which is the first of the courtyards of the Imperial palace, running north-west to south-east. The two groups of rooms behind the north-west wall have been called for some unknown reason the 'Greek and Roman Libraries'. Whatever they may have been they are certainly not libraries, and they seem to be oriented on the same lines as the newly excavated baths and the aviary. The courtyard belongs, at least in part, to the earlier villa, and seems to have been only slightly modified by Hadrian. In the centre of the north-west wall is a large building with an apse and niches. It certainly belongs to the earlier villa, but may have been added a short time after the first construction. It is built in rather peculiar *opus incertum* and was extensively transformed by Hadrian, who appears to have turned the upper portion into a reservoir to regulate the pressure of the water for the various neighbouring fountains.

The north-east side of the court is occupied by the 'Hospice' or guests' quarters. It consists of a central hall with five rooms on each side with niches for beds. The mosaic floors are very well preserved and on the right is a large latrine. The terrace in front of the Hospice was prolonged up to a point overlooking the Vale of Tempe. The Hospice

itself has been built into an important part of the earlier villa. The large room at the south end of this wing, which seems to have been a kind of drawing-room for the guests and in which is still the base of a statue or an altar, preserves part of the façade of the Republican building, a series of arcades in *opus incertum*, decorated with engaged columns which were stuccoed over. At some later date, but certainly before Hadrian, these arcades were roughly walled up with irregular blocks of tufa.

This façade continued probably all along the south-eastern side of the Cortile delle Biblioteche, in the centre of which is the access to a cryptoporticus belonging to the earlier villa. It may have been abandoned under Hadrian, who seems to have modified and restricted its windows; even now it is very dark. Visitors should ask a custodian to bring a lantern and illuminate the mosaics which decorate the vault of the darkest arm of the corridor. These mosaics are of considerable beauty and are slightly reminiscent of the decoration of the vaults in Nero's buildings in Rome. They are a unique specimen of this use of mosaic.

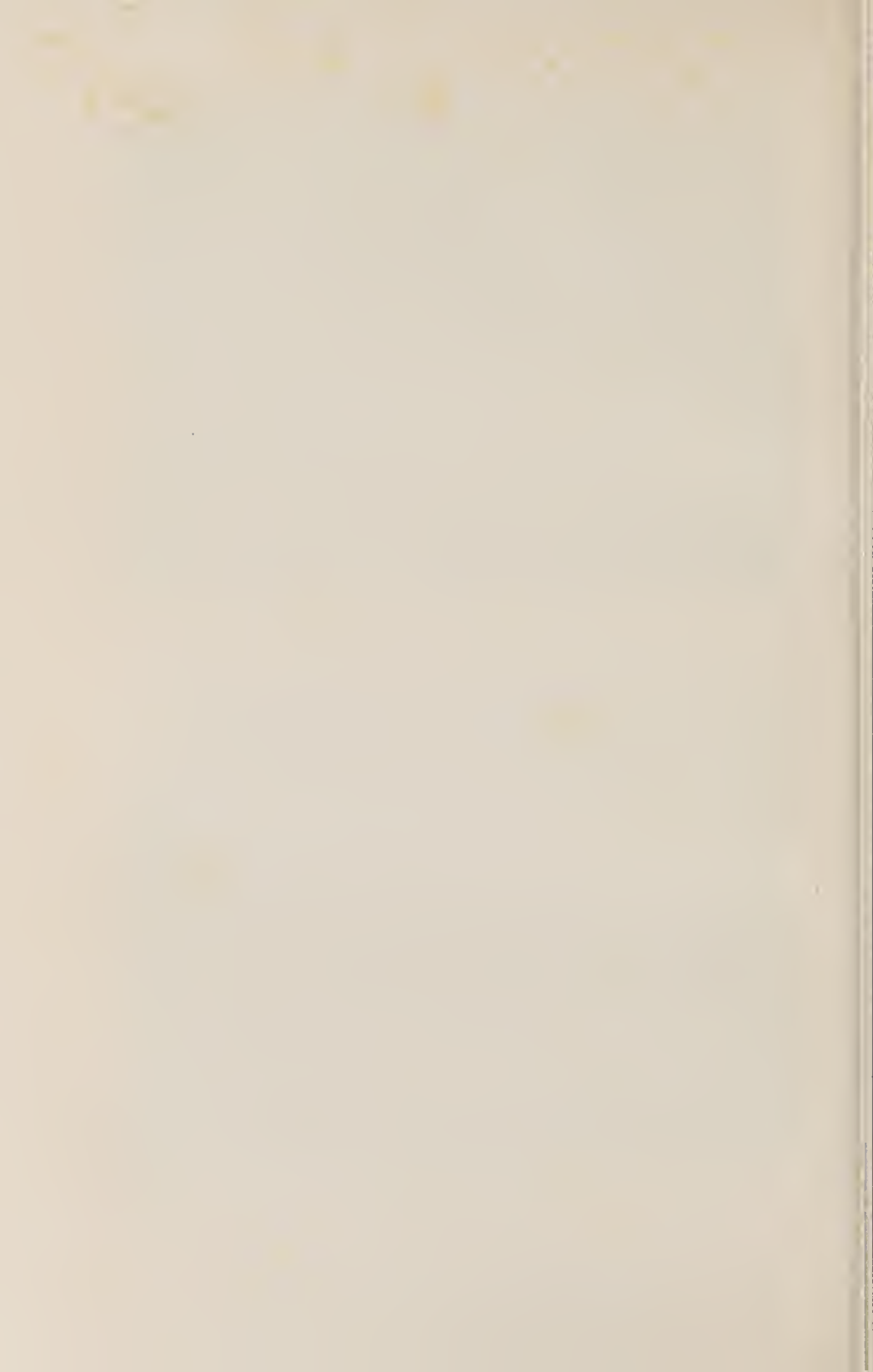
Above this cryptoporticus there is another hall or pillared court on which opens a large room with rectangular niches in the walls. This is certainly a library; the niches were used for the book-cases which were easily accessible by means of the low steps that run round the room. To the east we find a hall like a basilica, divided by columns—perhaps a lecture-hall like the one on the Palatine. To the west is a large hall with an apse, on each side of which are two small latrines; it may have been another dining-room. It opens on to a second very large open court that also belongs in part to the earlier villa, including the row of rooms on the left and the exedra uniting two small chapels exactly opposite the dining-room we have just seen. Behind it is another courtyard that was surrounded by a portico of Doric pilasters, a rather unusual architectural motif. To the east of this court are the imposing remains of a very large hall with a fountain in the centre. It may have formed part of the vestibule connecting this part of the palace with the 'Piazza d' Oro'.



THE NEWLY-EXCAVATED BATHS (*p.* 218)



THE PIAZZA D'ORO (*p.* 221)
HADRIAN'S VILLA



The 'Piazza d' Oro,' so called from the richness of its decoration, is the last portion of this wing, and was built by Hadrian on the highest point of the ridge some twelve feet above the level of the Court of the Libraries. It must have been one of the finest buildings in the villa and may have perhaps been used for state receptions. The great courtyard was surrounded by alternate columns of cipollino and of granite. On the walls were engaged columns covered with stucco corresponding to the columns. A certain amount of the mosaic floors of the rooms opening on the peristyle have been preserved, but the chief interest is in the architecture of the entrance vestibule and of the great octagonal hall on the south side. Here we find the first developments of the system of vaulted constructions which were perfected in Byzantine and in mediaeval architecture. The vaults are here divided into compartments and are strengthened externally by the addition of blind arches.

We retrace our steps to the Sala dei Pilastrì Dorici, and, passing by the so-called Caserma dei Vigili, in reality a storehouse, and the cryptoporticus, come to the third group, the Canopus, the two first buildings of which are the two sets of baths. We find ourselves in the outdoor pool of the smaller establishment, which is very well preserved. Opening on the pool, which was surrounded by columns, is a large room with very deep recesses, probably the cold bath; beyond it are rooms with hypocausts that belong to the various hot and tepid rooms. The larger *thermae* are not so well preserved, and their plan is not so clear, but the cross vaulting is remarkable, not only for the span but also because it furnishes the first examples of cross-vaulting supported by travertine corbels. Some of the stucco decoration of these vaults still exists. The swimming pool of these baths is surrounded by a cryptoporticus in which numerous seventeenth-century artists have scratched their names. Most of these have been obliterated by those of more recent and less interesting tourists, but a certain number are still visible, including *Robertus Villers Londinensis* 1647 and *Jaques Legrand peintre Francois des Nations* 1662; the latter lives up to the reputation of his countrymen in only employing his native language.

Next to this cryptoporticus is the so-called Praetorium, a great terrace wall supporting the embankment on this side. The substructures were divided by a number of wooden floors and were probably used as store-rooms or for slaves. The building above is remarkable in having its outer wall decorated with pilasters with no static function ; it is one of the first examples of such decoration.

We now enter the most remarkable section of the villa where Hadrian attempted to reproduce the Canopus near Alexandria. This was a temple of Serapis approached from Alexandria by a long canal on each side of which were numerous shops, hostelryes and 'Amusement Parks'. The canal, which was crowded by the boats of pilgrims and tourists, was supposed to mark the boundary between Europe and Asia, and, since it was a favourite resort of sailors and foreigners, Christian writers have described with great gusto the awful orgies that took place at the festivals. It was probably for that matter no worse than Coney Island, which it perhaps resembled.

Hadrian merely reproduced the general idea ; the actual treatment is thoroughly Roman and was probably greatly influenced by the Serapeum in the Campus Martius in Rome. The valley is artificial, the sides being supported by walls with small rooms to recall the booths of the real Canopus. In the centre of the valley ran a canal, which was probably navigable in a punt. At the southern end is the Temple of Serapis, a great vaulted hemicycle surrounded by rooms for the guests. The centre was occupied by the statue of the god, while the passage behind and the niches on either side were used for fountains, the waters of which supplied the canal. A passage to the right behind that part of the hemicycle still preserves much of the frescoed decoration, which is, however, very rough. The whole building was decorated with various Egyptian and pseudo-Egyptian statues, many of which are now in the Vatican. The semi-dome of the hemicycle is remarkable in being divided into segments alternately flat and concave. The effect must have been much finer when it could be seen from the correct distance, the original floor being several feet below the present level. Externally a water-channel, with

sluices to regulate the flow, runs all round the springing of the vault and must have fed the various cascades and fountains.

We have thus seen the three first groups of the villa ; the fourth section, which was called the ' Academy ' by the earlier explorers, is really a smaller palace built on a great independent terrace and oriented west-north-west to east-south-east. It lies outside the Government property, but it can easily be reached by climbing through the olive groves behind the Canopus. The existing remains, in which a large number of works of art were found, seem to be grouped about a central courtyard. A round room on the east is very effectively decorated by two stories of pilasters. The distribution of the other rooms is very difficult to understand. At the western corner there are remains which seem to belong to a vast round building. At the extreme western corner of the terrace is the Piccionara di Roccabruna, a large square building with very thick walls. It was perhaps a kind of look-out or belvedere in several stories, built in imitation of a lighthouse.

Southward from the ' Academy ' is the Villa Bulgarini, with numerous fragments of ancient mosaic pavements from the villa. Behind it lies the Odeum, a well-preserved example of an ancient theatre. The stage is still perfect, though lacking all its decoration, and has a vaulted passage behind it. The centre of the cavea was occupied by the Imperial box. Numerous subterranean passages near by have been thought to be the Underworld which Hadrian is said to have reproduced in the villa ; they are only the usual cryptoporticoes and are now almost inaccessible.

The ' Academy ' and the Odeum form the most southerly portion of Hadrian's villa. If we continue the path to the south we pass a few scattered remains and traces of an aqueduct. After about a mile we come to the Colle di S. Stefano, where are remains of a large Roman villa. These ruins used to be considered a portion of Hadrian's till quite recently, when an inscription proved that it had belonged to a certain Plancius Varus Cornutus, probably the adopted son of the Julius Cornutus Tertellus who was

Pliny the Younger's colleague in the consulship in A.D. 100. It passed later to Vibius Varus, who was Governor of Cyprus under Hadrian and consul in A.D. 134.

It is built on a large platform partly surrounded by a cryptoporticus, and as usual consisted of a large central courtyard on which opened the various rooms. This peristyle was excavated at the end of the eighteenth century but the only part now visible is a rectangular room with niches at the southern corner overlooking the ravine. The north wall continues along towards the east, and must have been used as an embankment for a higher terrace since it is strengthened with buttresses. It ends at a round depression which used to be called the Amphitheatre, but which is only a large elliptical water reservoir with several concentric walls. To the north of this tank are the remains of a small hexagonal baptistery belonging to a church, from which the hill probably takes its name. The villa extended a good deal farther, and some other ruins, including an exedra and several cisterns, can still be seen. It was certainly an important place, for two roads from Tivoli intersect here and continue across the Fosso di Ponte Terra. The present path follows the eastern road and crosses the ravine by a natural bridge, the Ponte Terra, which gives its name to the stream. The channel is probably natural but has certainly been enlarged, for the roof has been cut flat. On this bridge the road was supported by a substructure of masonry, some courses of which still exist. The other road crossed the ravine some three-quarters of a mile to the west, on a large viaduct in concrete fifty-six feet high. There are two tiers of arches, and the beauty of its situation makes it one of the finest monuments of the kind.

On the other side of the ravine lies the picturesque village of S. Vittorino, which does not contain any ancient remains. A road leads from this village to the Via di Poli and the Osteria delle Capannelle (see p. 188).

Returning to the high-road to Tivoli a lane to the left, a couple of hundred yards from the Villa Adriana road, leads to the ancient Via Tiburtina, which ran straight up

the hill to the present Porta del Colle. It should not be attempted in anything except a Ford. Immediately after it the road begins to rise and enters the famous olive groves of Tivoli, many of the trees being of great age. All this district was covered with villas, remains of which are sometimes very imposing. The road turns to the right and at the twenty-fifth kilometre stone, immediately after a path that follows the line of an ancient road, there are considerable remains of a large villa. In a Bull of A.D. 945 the site is called '*in pesoni*', which shows that the modern attribution to the Pisones is probably correct, but we do not know to which branch of that family it belonged.

The road bends to the left at the corner of the villa, then turns again to the right and rises sharply. We now pass below the considerable remains of a villa platform in *opus incertum* which abut on the road at the twenty-sixth kilometre stone, and passing by another smaller platform in polygonal work, reach the sharp bend—Regresso—where the steam-tram shunts its engine. All this district is called Carciano, a name found in documents of the tenth century, and obviously a corruption of Cassianus. A villa of C. Cassius is mentioned in a Bull of the tenth century as existing in this district, where, unfortunately perhaps, we find the remains of two villas. From these facts antiquaries have deduced that C. Cassius was the murderer of Caesar and owner of one villa, and that the other belonged to Brutus, whose father is said to have owned property here. But there still remains the difficulty of deciding which is which.

If one walks from Regresso, a few yards south through the olive groves, one comes to the remains of a great villa in three terraces. It is called the villa of Brutus, and is certainly of the first century B.C. The central terrace has a huge supporting wall of polygonal masonry, but on the south the wall is of reticulated work with buttresses connected by arches, giving it a rather curious effect. The lower terrace wall is in *opus incertum* with buttresses and is very high and imposing.

The carriage-road to Tivoli now passes below the great

villa ascribed to Cassius which occupies all this side of the hill. This villa is one of the largest in the neighbourhood and consists of three huge platforms, covering all the slope of the hill from here right up to the villa of the Irish College on the upper road. It is built in reticulated work of a peculiar kind, since cubes of different stones are employed for decorative effect. On the whole, the result is very successful, although perhaps it would be more effective on a smaller scale.

TIVOLI

*Mihi jam non regia Roma
sed vacuum Tibur placet.*

—HOR., Epist., I, vii, 44

Ancient historians all agreed that Tibur was a city of great antiquity but differed as to its early history. According to one tradition it was originally founded by the Siculi, who were afterwards expelled by the three grandchildren of Amphiaraus, King of Argos, Tiburtus, Coras, and Catillus. The first gave his name to the city and the last gave his to the Monte Catillo overhanging the town. But according to an even more respectable tradition, which derives from no less a person than Cato, Catillus was really an admiral in the fleet of Evander. The poets treated these traditions with scant respect, and Virgil cheerfully makes the three brothers take part in the war against Aeneas: '*Tum gemini fratres Tiburtia moenia linquunt Fratris Tiburti dictam cognomine gentem, Catillus acerque Coras argiva iuventus*' (Aeneid, VII, 670). But there was a general agreement to consider it an Argive city: '*Iam moenia Tiburis udi Stabant, Argolicae quod posuere manus*' (Ovid, Fasti, IV, 71): '*Tibur Argeo positum colono Sit meae sedes utinam senectae*' (Hor., Carm., ii, VI, 5).

Recent excavations have hardly been able to settle the genealogy of Catillus, but have discovered a pre-Roman cemetery of the Iron Age, an archaic base with an inscription of the fifth or fourth century B.C., and a large quantity of Etrusco-Campanian votive objects. The antiquity of

Tibur is therefore proved, as also its independence of Rome, for it was not admitted to the Roman franchise. It was thus a frequent place of banishment in very early times; M. Claudius, the decemvir Appius's cat's-paw in the affair of Virginia, was exiled here. Ovid refers to this fact smilingly: '*Exilium quodam tempore Tibur erat!*' (Fasti, VI, 666), and tearfully: '*Quid referam veteres Romanae gentis, apud quos Exulibus tellus ultima Tibur erat?*' (Ex Pont., I, iii, 81). During the fourth century B.C. it had frequent quarrels with the Romans, sided with the Gauls in their second incursion, and supported them in the great battle at the Porta Collina, giving them shelter in the city after the defeat. The war continued for a considerable time and was not brought definitely to a close till 335 B.C., when L. Furius Camillus stormed the city, which was left independent but was deprived of most of its territory.

In 311 B.C. the most amusing event in the history of Tibur took place. Appius Claudius, the censor, in the course of his campaign for economy, deprived the Guild of Flute-players of the good dinners they used to enjoy in the Capitoline Temple. They promptly retaliated by a 'lightning strike' and withdrew to Tibur. But the *tibicines* were indispensable for the sacrifices, and had to be got back by fair means or foul. The Senate sent an embassy to the Tiburtines, who were anxious not to have a new quarrel with Rome but wanted to preserve their sovereign rights. A way out of the difficulty was found by a certain freedman who invited the members of the Guild to an evening banquet in the country. Having made them thoroughly drunk, he loaded them on to a wagon and carted them back to Rome, where they awoke on the morrow: '*Convivae valido titubantia vino Membra movent; dubii stantque labantque pedes. At dominus 'discedite' ait, plaustroque morantes Sustulit: in plaustro scirpea lata fuit. Alliciunt somnos tempus motusque merumque, Potaque se Tibur turba redire putat*' (Ovid, Fast., VI, 677).

In 201 B.C. Syphax, King of Numidia, died here a prisoner, thus depriving Scipio's triumph of its chief attraction. During the civil wars Tibur seems to have managed to sit

on the fence with considerable success, and probably was extensively rebuilt, like Praeneste, by Sulla. The great treasures in the Temple of Hercules were seized by Octavian for his campaign against Lucius Antonius. Its subsequent history is of no particular interest. It suffered much during the Gothic wars and for a short time was the head-quarters of Totila after the failure of an attempt to capture Rome. In the tenth century it is a large and powerful city, and for several centuries we find it opposed to Rome. It was forced to surrender to Otho III and was usually on the Imperial side, probably more out of spite to Rome than for any other reason. After 1254 it ceases its conflicts with Rome but maintains its independence. From that time on it shares the history of the Roman province.

The city stands in a position of great natural strength and strategic importance, guarding the entrance to the Anio valley and the road to the Abruzzi and the Adriatic coast. Towards the Roman Campagna it is guarded by the very precipitous slopes of this portion of the Sabine mountains, while it is protected from attack from the east by the Anio and its gorge, which, in ancient times even more than now, formed the chief attraction of the town. It is difficult to account for its ancient popularity as a resort, notwithstanding its admitted beauty, since it is very hot in summer while in winter it is quite the rainiest place in Latium. Its orchards were famous, '*pomosi Tiburis arva*' (Col., R.R., x, 138); '*Ramosis Anio qua pomifer incubat arvis*' (Prop. IV, vii, 81); '*Pomifera arva creant Anienicolae Catilli*' (Sil. Ital., IV, 225). Horace tells Varus to plant the vine: '*Nullam, Vare, sacra vite prius severis arborem, Circa mite solum Tiburis et moenia Catilli*' (Car., I, xviii, 1); but though vineyards still cover the slopes of the hills, the wine is not good. Tivoli seems to have become a fashionable residential district under Caesar and remained so for a long time. Maecenas had a villa here where Horace must have spent a considerable time since he preferred Tivoli to any other place: '*Domus Albunae resonantis, et praeceps Anio, ac Tiburni lucus et uda mobilis pomaria rivis*' (Car., I, vii, 12); indeed, his references to Tivoli are so numerous that it is impossible to quote them all. Cynthia, the

mistress of Propertius, had a villa near the fall and was buried on the bank of the river: '*Hic Tiburtina jacet aurea Cynthia terra; Accessit ripae laus, Aniense, tuae*' (IV, vii, 85). Once she summoned him from Rome at midnight: '*Nox media, et dominae mihi venit epistula nostrae: Tibure me missa iussit adesse mora, Candida qua geminas ostendunt culmina turres Et cadit in patulos lymphæ Anienæ lacus*' (III, xvi, I). Statius's friend, the poet Vopiscus, also had a villa here. For some unknown reason the ancients supposed that the air of Tibur would keep ivory white: '*Et numquam Herculeo numine pallent ebur*' (Prop., IV, vii, 82) '*Et Tiburtino monte quod albet ebur*' (Mart., VIII, xxviii, 12).

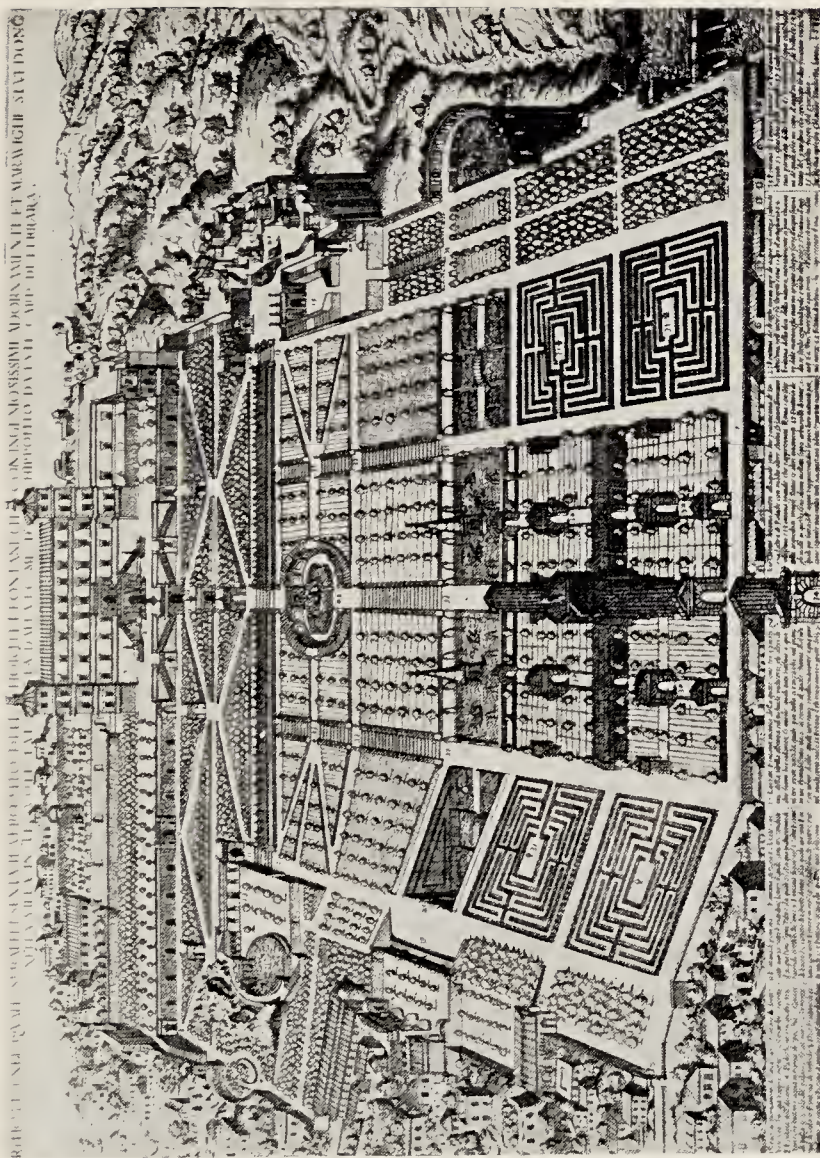
The waterfall which in ancient times contributed both to the beauty and to the wealth of Tibur, while now, alas, it will only add to the wealth of Rome, has caused, however, some terrible disasters. The first ruinous flood of which we have record took place in A.D. 105, and is described by Pliny the Younger, who at that time was head of the Board that supervised the embankments of the Tiber. The Anio broke through its banks and carried away masses of rock with the groves and buildings on them: '*Anio, delicatissimus amnium, ideoque adjacentibus villis velut invitatus retentusque, magna ex parte nemora, quibus inumbratur, fregit et rapuit: subruit montes et decidentium mole pluribus locis clausus, dum amissum iter quaerit, impulit tecta ac se super ruinas eiecit atque extulit*' (viii, 17). On November 16th 1826 the swollen river again burst its banks and swept away a church and twenty-six houses. To avoid a repetition of such disasters, the Papal Government decided to divert the river from the town and dug a double gallery through the Monte Catillo, forming the present cascade. Soon even this fall, alas! will be but a memory, like the falls at Terni, for with the growth of Rome more and more water is ever being diverted to power-houses.

The present tramway station is just outside one of the old gates of Tivoli, the Porta S. Croce, which was probably on the site of an ancient one. It has been demolished but

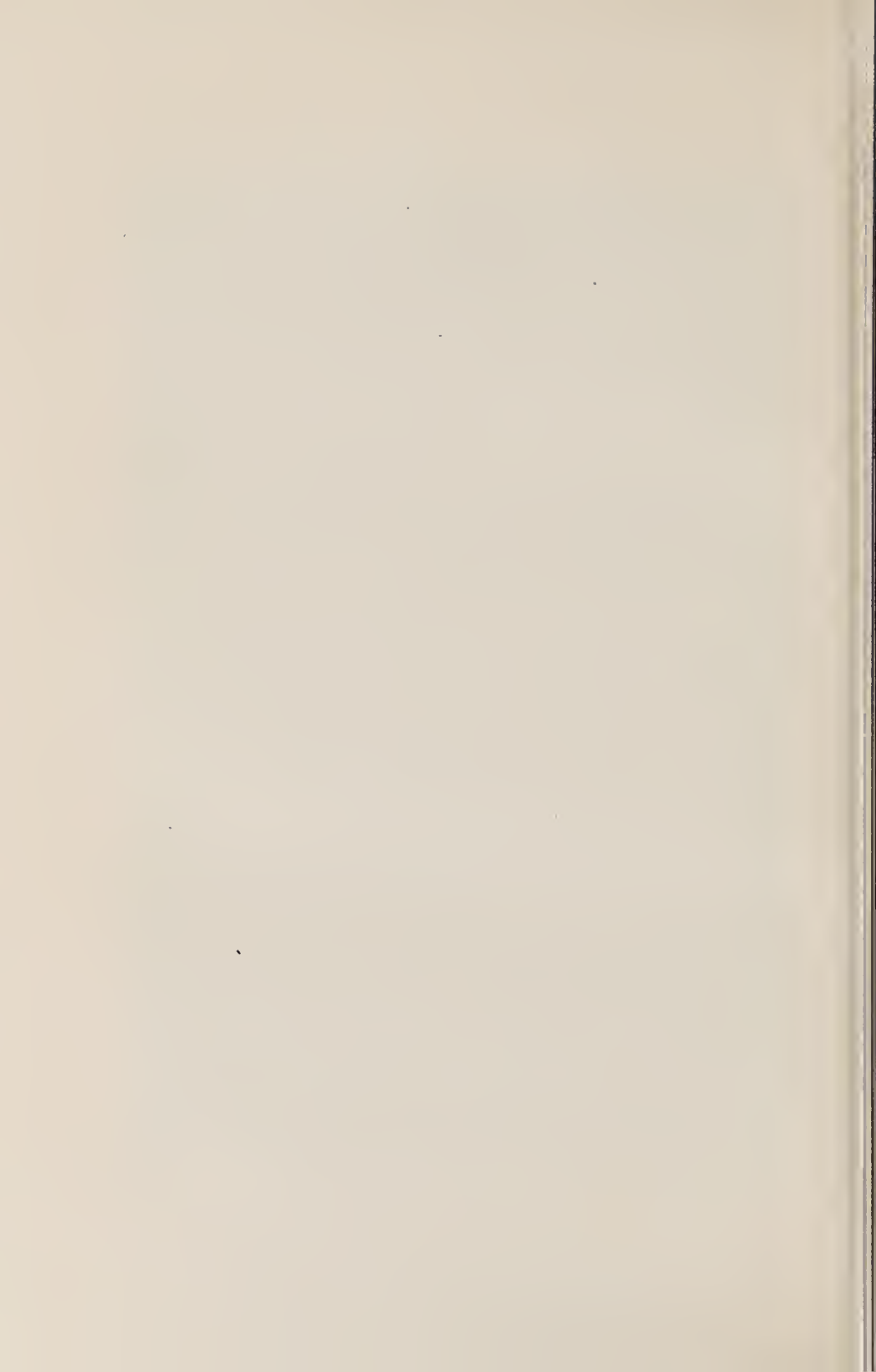
its place is still marked by the octroi boundary. To the right is the CITADEL, together with Ostia and Bracciano the best example of a fifteenth-century fortress in Latium. It was built by order of Pius II in 1461, both to overawe the turbulent inhabitants and to guard the boundaries of the papal States from the attacks of the great barons, notably the Orsini. The Pope supervised the construction in person during the summer, passing the time in writing his book about Asia, in sightseeing, and in mountain climbing. The castle, which occupies the site of the ancient amphitheatre, has no keep, but has strong round towers at the corners; the two smaller ones were only completed under Alexander VI.

A wide road on the left leads past the large modern schools to the square of S. Maria Maggiore, where is the entrance to VILLA D'ESTE, the chief but by no means the only attraction of Tivoli. Although it was never finished it is the finest example of a Renaissance villa, surpassing all others in the beauty of its situation and in the wonderfully lavish use of water.

In 1550 Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este, brother of Alfonso II, husband of René of France, was appointed Governor of Tivoli. Tired of a life spent in diplomatic intrigues, he decided to enjoy *otium cum dignitate*. There already existed a palace for the governor on this side of the hill, but the cardinal, wishing to out-Maecenas Maecenas, bought up as much of the surrounding houses and gardens as he could and ordered the best architects, engineers and painters to build him the greatest villa of the day. He entrusted the general direction of the works to Pirro Ligorio, the famous and infamous architect, antiquary, and forger, who excavated at Villa Adriana to find ancient statues with which to decorate the palace. The ground, which was not very extensive, was laid out in a series of terraces supported by great substructures in which part of the city wall was incorporated. The best hydraulic engineers of the day—Galvani, Curzio Maccarone, and Paolo Candrino—brought what is almost a small branch of the Anio to feed the fountains. An army of painters worked at the decoration of the rooms under the general



VILLA D'ESTE IN 1581
From the Engraving by Lafrery



direction of the two Zuccari. But on Cardinal Ippolito's death in 1572 the villa was not yet finished and work was still continued by two other cardinals of the same house, Luigi and Alessandro. But towards the end of the sixteenth century the House of Este lost Ferrara and declined rapidly in wealth and power. The gigantic villa remained unfinished and untenanted, its collections of sculpture were dispersed over Europe, the formal garden grew into a jungle, the conduits of the fountains became clogged, and the stuccoed statues and decorations disintegrated rapidly. It remained the property of the House of Austria-Este, who used to let it, the most famous recent tenant being the Cardinal Hohenlohe. It was confiscated by the Italian Government during the war, and it is now being extensively restored, especially the garden and the waterworks. On the whole, there have been great improvements, but there is a certain danger that it may be restored too drastically.

The entrance is not imposing and the courtyard is small and in no way remarkable except for the recently restored side of the church on the left. We enter the state apartments from the right-hand corner. A museum of peasant art has recently been formed here, but, though some of the textiles are of great beauty, its chief interest is in the decoration of the rooms themselves. It is evident that Cardinal Ippolito was in a hurry, and much of the work is very rough and superficial, the maximum effect with the minimum of labour. The workshop of the Zuccari can be better appreciated at Caprarola, but even here the decorative details are not without charm. Right at the end of the wing is the chapel of the cardinal, one of the few that have survived the transformation of Roman palaces, with not altogether worthless frescoes by Girolamo Muziano.

We descend the stair to the ground floor, which is at a much lower level than the square from which we entered. Pirro Ligorio in order to preserve these rooms from damp separated them from the hill by means of a long corridor lit by skylights from the courtyard and decorated with fountains. It gives a very good idea of what an ancient cryptoporticus must have looked like, and it is very probable that Ligorio was consciously copying one. The

fountains here and in the first room are in the sham rockery and polychrome incrustation style developed by Ligorio, who again may have got the idea from specimens of Roman decoration of the first century A.D.

The gardens should be enjoyed, not described. Nowhere else perhaps have such wonderful effects been obtained with such a simplicity of means. The grounds are quite small but have been laid out with such grandeur that they give an impression of infinite space. It is full of contrasts: to the left the vast expanse of the Campagna cut by the silver streaks of the road and of the Anio, with the dome of S. Peter's on the skyline like a fairy bubble; to the right the crowded houses, churches, and spires of Tivoli itself.

A few notes on some of the fountains may be of interest. The great *jet d'eau* on the lower terrace, the Fontana dei Draghi, was inaugurated in 1573 by Cardinal Luigi d'Este for the visit of the newly elected Pope Gregory XIII. The dragons, now almost unrecognizable from moss and the thick incrustations of the water, are probably a reference to the Pope's armorial bearings, the Buoncompagni dragons. A Frenchman, Claude Venard, built the famous hydraulic organ. The long avenue of the 'Cento Fontane' probably reproduces the effect of similar Roman nymphæa of the time of Nero; of the four decorative motifs employed, eagles, lilies, ships, and obelisks, the two former are drawn from the Este arms. Below each fountain reliefs in stucco, now almost entirely destroyed, depicted scenes from the Metamorphoses of Ovid, a suitable decoration for the gardens of an ecclesiastic. At the end of this avenue, on the terrace overlooking the Campagna, is the '*Rometta*', Pirro Ligorio's masterpiece. It was an attempt at a small-scale restoration of ancient Rome, and though perhaps slightly less accurate, it is certainly a good deal more amusing than similar recent attempts. It is now almost entirely ruined, but we can still see the Tiber with its Island transformed into the ship of Aesculapius.

Leaving Villa d'Este we should visit next door the interesting CHURCH OF S. MARIA MAGGIORE, commonly called S. Francesco. The fine Gothic façade has an enclosed porch with a tabernacle and the arms of Cardinal d'Alençon

over the doorway. The interior has been modernized but contains many objects of interest. The Cosmatesque pavement is well preserved and the fronts of the altars in the right aisle are formed of fine slabs from the original iconostasis. In the presbytery a triptych by Bartolommeo Bulgarini of Siena hangs on the left wall ; it is the only certain painting by this artist. The high altar has a very interesting Madonna of the Roman school of the thirteenth century ; it has been attributed to Jacobus Torriti, the author of the mosaics in the apse of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome. On the right wall is an indifferent picture of the Umbrian school of the fifteenth century. The square choir behind the altar has been recently restored and a considerable portion of the late thirteenth-century decorations of the walls and of the open roof discovered. The best-preserved portion consists of votive crowns and an imitation corbelled cornice.

Returning to Porta S. Croce, we take the principal street of the town, Via del Trevio. In the little square where it begins one should notice in a house on the right a very fine late Gothic window, in the Abruzzi style of the fifteenth century ; framed by two ancient columns. It is impossible to mention all the fine mediaeval houses or Renaissance windows and doors to be seen in Tivoli. No other town, except Viterbo, has preserved so great a part of its civil architecture and it well repays exploration on foot. At the end of Via del Trevio a short street on the right leads to S. ANDREA, a church of little interest internally but which is built in a Roman hall. By descending the lane on the right it is possible to see the square apse with fine brickwork of the second century A.D. and excellent brick and terra-cotta mouldings. This lane leads into Via Domenico Giuliani by which one comes to Porta S. Giovanni. Immediately in front of the hospital and next to the gate is the CHURCH OF S. GIOVANNI, which contains the finest frescoes in Tivoli. It is always open ; one has only to push the door. Over the altar is a good terra-cotta statue of the saint and the walls of the presbytery have been frescoed by a follower of Melozzo da Forlì : the Assumption of the Virgin on the left, saints and doctors on the vault, stories

of S. John the Baptist on the right. These frescoes used to be attributed to Antoniazio Romano, but they reveal the hand of a far more vigorous artist who, unfortunately, remains for the present anonymous. They were probably executed during the period of Melozzo's activity in Rome (c. 1482.)

Continuing the Via del Trevio, crossing the Piazza della Regina and taking the very narrow Via Palatina, one comes to the little square of the same name with some of the most interesting of the mediaeval houses. The one on the right is largely built of ancient architectural fragments. The Church of S. Michele on the left has a good specimen of the Roman campanile. A narrow street to the left leads to the Palazzo Comunale, where, besides a few ancient marbles and inscriptions, is an excellent picture of S. Bernardino by Sano di Pietro. From the Piazza Palatina one descends into the large and very irregular Piazza Rivarola on the old banks of the Anio.

We cross the Ponte Gregoriano, over the site of what was the old waterfall before 1826. Till a few years ago a small quantity of water used to be deflected on the left bank and used by the local washerwomen ; this picturesque sight, like many others connected with the falls, is now no more. Just beyond the bridge is the entrance to the VILLA GREGORIANA. It is difficult to venture an opinion as to whether the falls should be visited or not. The effect is entirely dependent on the quantity of water which is allowed to flow over the falls unutilized by the power-stations. This quantity is in its turn governed by the state of the Anio itself which varies greatly from day to day. In times of flood the great cascade is most impressive while the gorges of Neptune and of the Sybil are grand and awe-inspiring, full of water *per cava saxa volutans*, but when only a trickle runs over the great fall and the grottoes are merely damp and slippery, even the beauty of the scenery is an insufficient compensation for the time and energy involved. On the slopes of the main gorge remains may be seen of ancient buildings probably belonging to a villa, which has been attributed to the poet Vopiscus, the friend of Statius. We know that the villa was near the



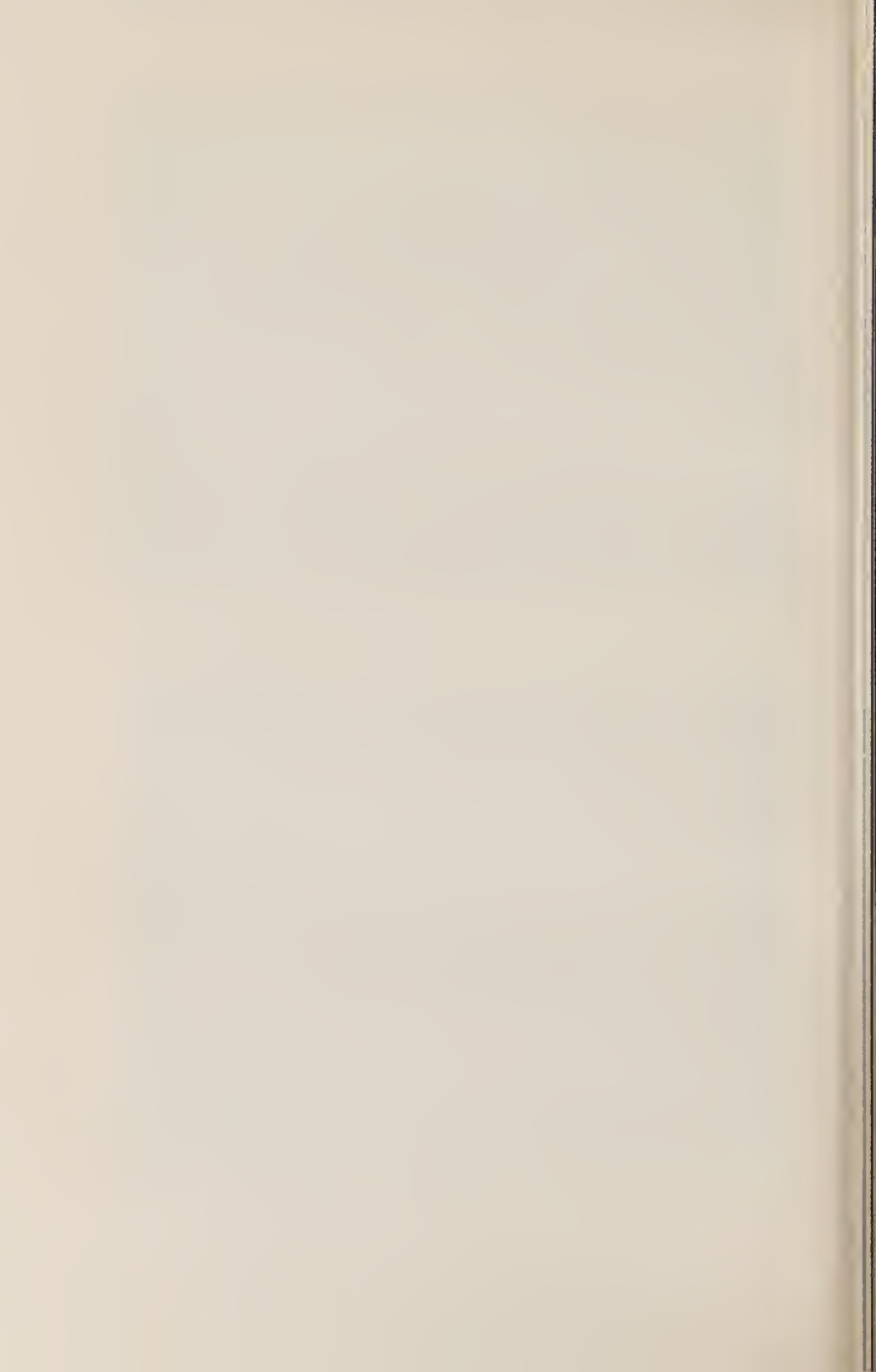
TIVOLI IN 1578

From an Engraving by Braun and Hogenberg after a Drawing by G. Hoefnagel



THE PONDERARIUM (p. 238)

TIVOLI



waterfall and extended on either bank of the river, but these elements are insufficient to prove or disprove the attribution.

The path on the farther side of the gorge leads to the two temples, the chief classical attraction of Tivoli, which can also be approached directly from Piazza Rivarola. In the garden of the Albergo della Sibilla we come upon the round TEMPLE OF VESTA and next to it is the rectangular one of the Sybil. Both attributions are entirely hypothetical, and strong objections may be urged against each, but on the whole they are less improbable than any of the proposed alternatives. The round temple from its peculiar shape is probably that of Vesta, who, as we know from inscriptions, was venerated at Tivoli. The shape would also be appropriate for a Temple of Hercules, but there is no good evidence for the presence of Hercules Saxanus. As for that of the Sybil, we know from Varro that Tivoli had a tenth Sybil called Albunea and that the Temple stood near the cascade (*domus Albunee resonatis*). The round temple may be attributed from its style to the beginning of the first century B.C., the period of Sulla. The round cella is built in characteristic *opus incertum* on a high podium, and preserves its door and one window, an unusual feature. The roof was probably in one pitch, rising to the centre. Part of the Corinthian peristyle is well preserved. The columns were originally eighteen and have rather massive proportions, while the carving both of the capitals and of the frieze is extremely vigorous; the foliage of the former seems to derive from the *Acanthus mollis*. The Temple of the Sybil is less well preserved and was turned during the Middle Ages into a church dedicated to S. George. It is pseudo-peripteral, like the Temple of Fortuna Virilis in Rome, and is built of stone throughout.

In order to visit the other monuments of Tivoli one should descend from Piazza Rivarola by Via S. Valerio and Via del Colle to the Tempio della Tosse and Ponte dell' Acquoria, where one can be met by the car, which, however, must return by the high-road and take the turning almost opposite the one for Villa Adriana. Via S. Valerio, in which are several nice old houses, especially a good example of a

'casa-torre' with a Gothic window, leads to Piazza dell' Olmo, which is supported by great Roman substructures and may perhaps be the ancient Forum of Tibur. To the left is the side-entrance to the CATHEDRAL. This was entirely modernized by Cardinal Roma in 1635; the original church was a basilica built on the site of, and with columns taken from, the Temple of Hercules. Except for a couple of funerary monuments of the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries the church at first sight does not appear to contain anything of interest, but in a very dark chapel (the sacristan will light the electric light) is a masterpiece of central Italian wood-carving of the beginning of the thirteenth century. This wonderful Deposition possesses a simple grandeur that not even its atrocious setting and the bad regrouping of the figures can impair. The inert body of Christ must have been supported by a rope gently lowered by the two men all intent on their work. The straight lines, schematic draperies, and constrained movements of the Virgin and of S. John on either side of the Cross express an anguish that is far more poignant because it is restrained. A few elements in this Deposition may derive from French Gothic sculpture, fewer still from the wonderful schools of northern Italy, but the monumental dignity and the careful avoidance of any grotesque element or of any attempt at exaggerated pathos are thoroughly Roman.

In the last chapel on the left we find another masterpiece of Roman mediaeval art, the large triptych with the Saviour between the Virgin and S. John the Evangelist. This transformation of the Byzantine Deesis by the substitution of the Evangelist for the Baptist appears to be a peculiarity of the Roman province. It is, unfortunately very difficult to obtain permission to examine, or even to see, this image, which is highly venerated by the population. At the beginning of the fifteenth century it was given a fine silver repoussé covering reproducing the seated figure of the Saviour with a space for the face of the picture. The silver coverings of the side panels are beautifully decorated with figures of the Evangelists, the scene of the Annunciation, and SS. Peter, Paul, Lawrence, Simplicius,

the two latter being the patron saints of the city. The work, though hardly of the first class, is fine and very pleasing, and has succeeded admirably in preserving the painting underneath. The upper portion, consisting of a kind of apse with a Gothic cornice, is of 1449, and by a different hand. It is very much inferior to the silver covering and renders the whole triptych top-heavy; the little statues of the saints in the tabernacles are, however, of considerable merit. But the beauty of the painting itself is far greater than that of its shrine. It is of the middle of the twelfth century and is a product of that Roman school of painting which, though strongly influenced by Byzantium, always seems to have been able to keep its own individual characteristics, especially its love, inherited from ancient Rome, for the monumental and the majestic. This triptych, both in merit and in time, stands between the vigorous scenes of the lower Church of S. Clemente and the grandeur of the thirteenth century mosaicists and of Cavallini. The figure of Christ is splendid in its gold robes gleaming on the gold background, majestically seated on the great jewelled throne. The expression is mild and compassionate; He is to be loved rather than feared, but the blaze of gold, almost unrelieved by colour, proclaims the transcendent Divinity. The figures of the side panels have more expression and more attempts at modelling; two scenes, the Dormition of the Virgin and the Assumption of S. John, are strongly reminiscent of the frescoes at S. Clemente.

In a small court behind the apse of the church we find a considerable portion of a curved Roman wall. It is of *opus incertum* of the time of Sulla, and is perhaps a portion of the cella of the great Temple of Hercules, a sanctuary almost as famous as the Temple of Fortune at Praeneste, which it much resembled. It too was oracular and consisted of a series of terraces supporting the various courts and buildings connected with the cult. Its treasury was very rich and it had an excellent Greek and Latin library praised by Aulus Gellius.

If we go out on the square in front of the cathedral we can admire the fine Campanile which fortunately escaped

modernization. To the right of the façade is a picturesque fountain for the washerwomen and beyond it the entrance to the very interesting Ponderarium. It is a hall which must have opened on an open space, perhaps the Forum ; on one side is a decorated marble bench in which are the standard measures of capacity, used for fluids or cereals. The measures themselves were of bronze and fitted into the spaces in the marble ; they had an opening below to allow the tested merchandise to be drained off. The hall was built in the Augustan age by a freedman, M. Varenus Diphilus, who must have been an important person in the municipal life of this little town, for he was a '*Magister Hercules*'. Next to this hall another has recently been found with a considerable part of its original frescoed decoration of festoons of fruit and flowers on a red background. In the apse is a fine statue of an emperor and there was also found a head of Nerva which, however, does not belong to this statue. This hall was also built by Diphilus with a prayer for the safe return of Augustus from a voyage.

Returning to Piazza dell' Olmo we descend the slopes of the hill by the picturesque Via del Colle which starts from a mediaeval arch. This street contains some of the best examples of the domestic architecture of Tivoli and is almost entirely built over the remains of the various terraces and buildings of the Temple of Hercules. We pass the remains of an archway on the left. Farther down, and still on the left, we find considerable remains of an ancient building that has been incorporated in the mediaeval houses. It consists of a great arch of stone with a large hall in *opus incertum* attached to it. The road now opens into a small, irregular square, Piazza S. Silvestro, one of the most picturesque in Tivoli, with its fountain and the old mediaeval houses and church.

THE CHURCH OF S. SILVESTRO occupies only the nave of the original church. Its chief interest lies in the frescoes of the apse. The upper portion with the Saviour between SS. Peter and Paul and the scene of the Apocalypse on the face of the arch is obviously inspired by early mosaic compositions ; the lower portion, with the Madonna



TIVOLI : S. SILVESTRO



between the Apostles and stories of local saints, has evident affinities with the frescoes of S. Elia at Nepi of the middle of the eleventh century, and it is probable that it is all of that epoch. On the other hand, analogies have been noticed with the frescoes of the thirteenth century in the crypt of Anagni, and it has even been suggested that the two cycles are by the same hand. In any case, these Tivoli frescoes represent the earlier rather than the later tendency of the Roman school. They unite the traditional Byzantine and late classical influences with certain characteristics that are definitely Roman. Besides the frescoes, the ancient crypt is worthy of notice, as also the very interesting relief of a saint in polychrome wood, which shows a far more Byzantine influence than the more or less contemporary Deposition in the cathedral.

Continuing the Via del Colle we pass other mediaeval houses and come to the other gate of the city, the Porta del Colle, from which we can admire the great substructions of Villa d'Este. Just before reaching the gate a road to the right leads to the paper-mill built over the colossal platform, usually called the VILLA OF MAECENAS, which is really the first terrace of the Temple of Hercules. Even in its present state the ruins are very imposing and are well worth a visit. The great terrace supported a vast quadriportico which was surrounded by Doric arcades and is now entirely occupied by the paper-mill, in building which numerous inscriptions were found mentioning the *curatores fani Herculis Victoris* and the *Augustales Herculei*. These show that under the Empire the local cult was united with that of Augustus and furnished the citizens with an honourable public career. The platform was built, according to two inscriptions, by the *quatuorviri* L. Octavius Vitulus and C. Rustius Flavius across the line of the ancient road, which was made to pass through the substructures by a long tunnel, lit by skylights, still the most impressive part of the building; the union of modern machinery with an edifice almost two thousand years old cannot fail to strike the imagination.

Passing through the tunnel we follow the factory road in front of the ancient terrace and thus rejoin the Via del

Colle, which, below the temple, divides into two branches. Both are ancient, the one on the right leading to the Ponte dell' Acquoria over the Anio, a picturesque bridge which preserves one of its travertine arches. A considerable portion of the ancient pavement and of the retaining walls of this road is still preserved. The other branch belongs to the Via Tiburtina, and, as we know from an inscription discovered in 1735 and re-erected where it was found, was repaved under the Emperors Constantius and Constans between A.D. 340 and 350. A conspicuous monument in the vineyards to the left of the road is the so-called TEMPIO DELLA TOSSE. It is a building of the fourth century A.D., probably a tomb, octagonal externally but circular in the interior and covered by a dome. There are four curved and four rectangular niches with windows above each. The name may have been derived from M. Turcius Secundus Apronianus, who repaired the road.

Even the most hurried visitor to Tivoli will not omit to go along the road to Palombara in order to enjoy the view of the falls. Passing in front of the entrance to the Villa Gregoriana the road runs along the slopes of the Monte Catillo. Immediately after leaving Tivoli the road widens into a kind of small square above the gorge with a modern archway of travertine on the left. On the Feast of the Assumption a solemn procession brings the image of the Madonna di Quintiliolo from its chapel to Tivoli, and an altar is erected under this arch to receive the image. The road twists and turns along the slopes of the hill and passes twice under the arches of the railway viaduct. The large farm-house high up on the right which still preserves its tower is the Casale S. Angelo, a possession of the Massimi. It is built over the remains of an ancient villa which, for absolutely no reason, has been attributed to Catullus. To the left the view of the great Cascade is magnificent. A little farther on we come to the Church and Convent of S. Antonio, now the property of Mr. Hallam. It is built over the remains of a very large villa that extended on several terraces down the side of the hill; a large nymphaeum below the house sufficiently attests to its former magnificence. It is built in reticulated work of

the Augustan age. An old tradition ascribes it to Horace, but not only is it unlikely that Horace, had he ever possessed so sumptuous a dwelling, should not have mentioned it in his writings, but there is no evidence that he ever had a villa at Tivoli at all. No doubt, had he had one, this is the villa he would have had, but under the circumstances the only person to whom it could be attributed with any probability is Maecenas.

A little farther the road, from which one can enjoy a superb view of the Cascatelle, turns to the right to go to Palombara, while a lane, which is impracticable for motors, leads down to the Ponte dell' Acquoria. The little Chapel of the MADONNA DI QUINTILIOLO, with a beautiful olive grove round it, stands on a great villa platform which is the only one of which the ownership is certain. It is undoubtedly the villa of Quintilius Varus, whose army was ambushed and defeated while he himself was slain by the Germans under Arminius in the Teutoburger Wald. The disaster was undoubtedly serious, but Augustus seems to have magnified it to unreasonable proportions, abandoning the idea of pushing the frontier of the Empire to the Elbe. (For the remaining portion of the road to Palombara see p. 277).

From the Porta S. Croce we can take the upper road—di S. Gregorio—in order to visit Gericomio, and the remains of the aqueducts. The modern road passes above the summer residence of the Irish College, originally built for the Greek College, on the upper platform of the villa of Cassius. The ancient road, which is now a good path, runs to Gericomio a little below the carriage road, passing the villa of Brutus and some other villa platforms. The modern road commands a magnificent view but passes little of interest till, some three miles from the Irish College, it curves round the lofty hill now known as S. Angelo in Arcese but in ancient times the Arx Aesulana, where the Senate placed a garrison in 211 B.C. on the news of Hannibal's advance on Rome. It is mentioned by Horace as a prominent landmark in the view from Rome: '*Udum Tibur et Aesulae declive contempleris arvum*'. It seems to

have been abandoned at an early date, but, during the reign of Domitian, L. Pomedius Festus, a contractor who had pierced the mountain for the channel of the Aqua Claudia, restored the Temple of the Bona Dea on its summit as a thankoffering. There are some platforms on its slopes like those at Palombara and also some reservoirs of Roman date. On the summit are the remains of a Cistercian monastery built in 1180 on the site of a still earlier one. No ancient construction is now visible, but there are considerable remains of Roman materials, perhaps taken from the temple.

After another couple of miles a road on the right leads down to GERICOMIO. Cardinal Prospero Santacroce, famous for having introduced tobacco into Italy, bought this estate in 1579 from the Orsini and began the construction of a villa which he called Γερωντοκομείον (the retreat of the aged). His design comprised a battlemented enclosure, a garden, a fish-pond, and an aviary, but only a part was built when the cardinal died in 1589. The estate was then sold to the Conti of Poli, and later to the Barberini, to the Pio di Savoia, and to the present owners, the Brancaccio. It stands on the remains of an ancient villa. In the valley below it is the very picturesque PONTE S. ANTONIO, for the passage of the Aqua Claudia.

S. GREGORIO DA SASSOLA is a picturesque village, originally an Orsini castle, which has the same history as Gericomio. The handsome castle, now belonging to Prince Brancaccio, still preserves its high bridge. The road to Casape and Poli is not in a condition suitable for motors.

CHAPTER XI

THE VALLEY OF THE ANIO: HORACE'S FARM AND SUBIACO

*Vester, Camoenae, vester in arduos
Tollor Sabinos.*

—HOR., *Carm.*, III, iv, 21

THE narrow valley through which the Anio descends from the Sabine mountains to Tivoli is of singular beauty although the Anio itself has almost entirely disappeared, since it has been imprisoned in great conduits in order to furnish electric power to Rome. It is no doubt regrettable that running water should have so great a commercial value, yet the visitor who does not remember the valley as it was when the rapid stream tossed restlessly in its bed will not be disappointed in the scenery. In few places near Rome can one feel the ghosts of former ages so close to one ; as we hurry up the valley of the Digentia and identify the peaks and streams of which we read in the schoolroom it almost seems as though Horace had asked us down to taste his Sabine wine. On the other side of the valley the faint sound of a horn comes from the mighty crags of the Guadagnolo, and in the twilight appear the hounds and the huntsman, and, as the chapel on the cliff fades away, the panting stag turns on St. Eustace and the Cross shines between his horns. In the wild, silent gorge of Subiaco it is still easy to meet the shades of Nero and of Benedict, though it is rather more difficult to imagine their conversation.

The valley of the Anio is the first portion of the gap in the Apennines by which one may reach the Abruzzi and eventually the Adriatic. It is still used by the railway to the coast and by the high-road which corresponds to the ancient Via Valeria, a road that led to Corfinum and then via Chieti to the coast at Castellamare. The Anio, moreover, furnished a large proportion of the water supply of

Rome, and we shall see considerable remains of the various aqueducts, while the modern conduit of the Marcia, which utilizes many of the old springs, runs parallel to the road on the north. Although Subiaco is not more than two and a half hours from Rome by car, it should be remembered that the path to the monasteries is steep and rough and that consequently even a short visit will take at least two hours. Subiaco can also be reached by railway, changing at Mandela ; the villa of Horace can also be reached by rail, taking the bus from the station of Mandela, but one may be obliged to return to Vicovaro on foot.

On arriving at Tivoli from Rome one crosses the city, and leaves it by the Porta S. Angelo beyond the Ponte Gregoriano and the entrance to the cascades. The Via Valeria leads off to the right and passes through the suburb that has grown up above the station. For a short distance it runs south-east along the slopes of the Catillo and enjoys a wide view over the Anio and its tributary, the Fosso dell' Empiglione, which descends the valley between the Praenestine and Tiburtine hills. We see in the distance the Guadagnolo and the Mentorella and in the valley the arches of the aqueducts (see p. 258). The road then turns north and we soon reach the road that leads up on the left to S. Polo dei Cavalieri (see p. 277). We cross the railway and some distance farther on we pass considerable remains of a large villa in reticulated masonry of the time of Augustus. We now come in sight of CASTEL MADAMA, a village built on an estate of S. Sylvia, the mother of S. Gregory the Great, who gave it to the Abbey of Subiaco. It later belonged to the Orsini, from whom it passed by marriage to the Medici. It then belonged to Margaret of Austria, the illegitimate daughter of Charles V, who first married Alessandro de Medici and then Ottavio Farnese. She separated from the latter and lived on her estate here for a considerable time ; she was so popular that the name was changed to its present one in her honour.

The village itself, which is reached by a road on the right, contains little of interest except the imposing palace and the large church, but is wonderfully situated, dominating both the Anio and the Empiglione valleys. Below the

village there is a very important power-station, the pipes of which do not improve the landscape. On the other side we see the great bridge that carries the conduit, while below it are the remains of the ancient aqueduct which ran along the same line. We pass, on the right, a farm-house which was once an old castle, and the picturesque tomb monument of C. Maenius Bassus on the left.

Some distance farther on we reach VICOVARO, an interesting and finely situated village on the site of the ancient Varia, the municipium on the Via Valeria to which Horace's five peasants used to go to market. The present village, which from the end of the twelfth to the end of the seventeenth century belonged to the Orsini, now gives a princely title to the Cenci-Bolognetti, and contains many interesting monuments. The Roman walls are still partly preserved and there are several Roman remains, while the streets and houses preserve much of their former picturesqueness. At one end of the main square is the beautiful 'Tempietto', dedicated to S. James, a gem of the early Renaissance. It was designed and begun by Domenico di Capodistria, who died here in 1464, having completed only the lower portion in which one can still see the influence of Gothic art. It was then completed in a much more advanced style by Giovanni Dalmata, the sculptor of the monument of Paul II, now in the Museo Petriano. At the other end of the square is the Church of S. Pietro, which has been entirely rebuilt, and next to it the Bolognetti Palace, which incorporates portions of the old Orsini Castle.

About a mile from Vicovaro, after a bend in the road, the valley is almost closed by the monastery of S. Cosimato with its picturesque cypresses, and the village of Mandela on its hill. Here we take a road on the left which leads up the valley of the Digentia to Horace's farm. We thus enter the territory of the poet; the stream at the bottom of the valley is the Digentia, *gelidus Digentia rivos*, to the right is Mandela, *rugosus frigore pagus*, to the left are the slopes of the *amoenus Lucretilis*, high up on the side of which is the village of Roccagiovane, the *Fanum putre Vacunae*. Mandela is a singularly dirty village containing

nothing of interest ; during the Middle Ages it was called Bardella or Cantalupo, but in 1757 the discovery of an inscription, now in the Bolognetti Palace at Vicovaro, proved it to be the ancient Mandela and consequently paved the way for the discovery of the site of Horace's farm. Roccagiovane is beautifully situated and contains some interesting inscriptions and reliefs of the four seasons. There are numerous but insignificant remains of antiquity in the whole valley, and it is certain that the modern road corresponds to an ancient one, while another passed by Roccagiovane and descended to Licenza above Horace's farm ; this latter road is still followed by a path which passes by the Fonte Oratina, the ancient Fons Bandusiae.

The road continues to run almost due north for about five kilometres, when we see the valley closed by a small village on a pyramidal-shaped hill, the modern LICENZA and the ancient Ustica. To the left of the road rises a small well-wooded hillock ; a rough path, indicated by a signpost, leads up its side to the remains of Horace's farm, excavated in 1911.

HORACE'S SABINE FARM

*Hoc erat in votis : modus agri non ita magnus,
Hortus ubi et tecto vicinus iugis aquae fons
Et paulum silvae super his foret.*

—HOR., Serm. II, vi, 1 ff.

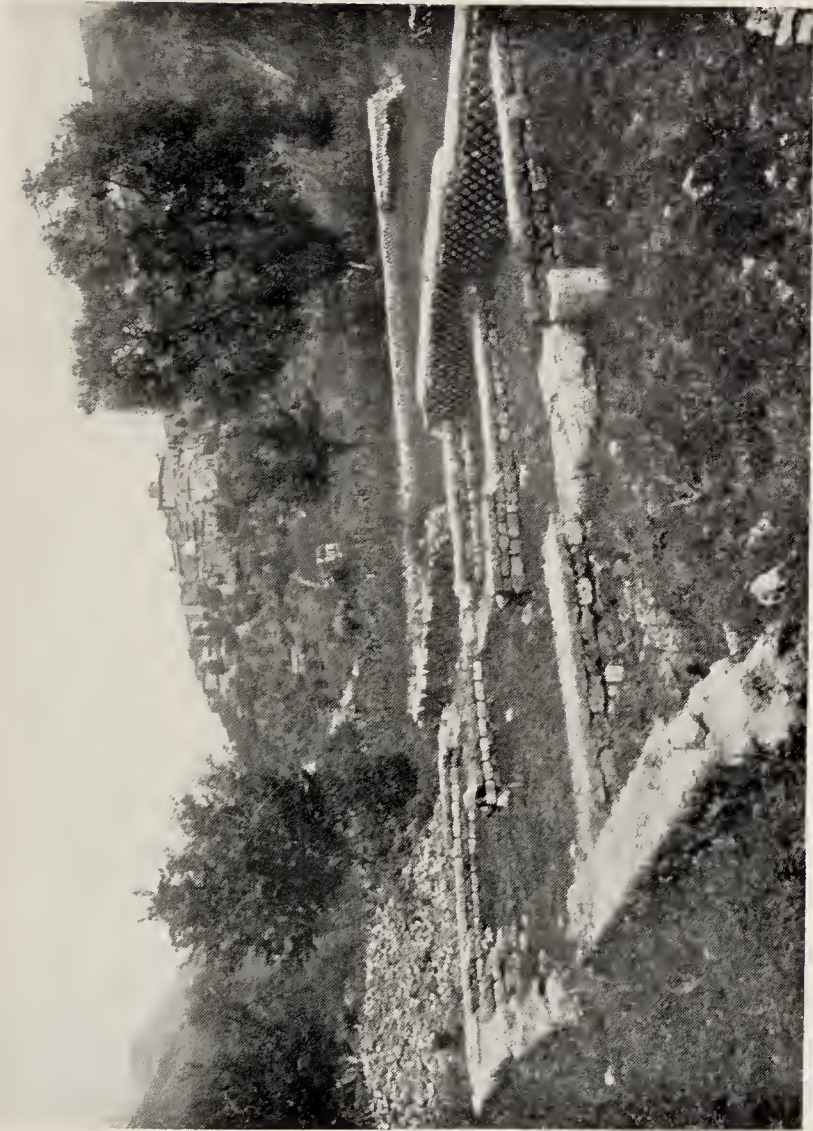
*Continui montes, ni dissocientur opaca
Valle, sed ut veniens dextrum latus adspiciat sol
Laevom discedans curru fugiente vaporet.*

—HOR., Epist. I, xvi, 4 ff.

*Cur valle permutem Sabina,
Divitias operosiores ?*

—HOR., Carm., III, i, 47

Between the publication of the first and second book of Satires, probably in the year 32 B.C., Horace received from his friend and patron Maecenas the gift of a Sabine farm. The poet was then thirty-two years of age ; his habits



HORACE'S FARM



were simple and the revenues from his estate were sufficient to render him independent. It was not a luxurious country house, placed in a fashionable neighbourhood, but its very remoteness from Rome ensured the poet's peace and tranquillity, since few of the Roman bores would be inclined to disturb him. The estate, however, was considerable, and probably included all the side of the valley from the stream to a good way up the Lucretilis. It was well watered both by the Digentia itself and by the tributary waters of the Fonte Oratina. It produced corn, olives, and vines, and was surrounded, at least in its upper portion, by woods of oak and ilex ; there was a garden, an orchard, and sufficient fields for pasturage. The estate was managed by an agent and was cultivated by eight slaves and five families of free peasants, probably on the mezzadria system.

The villa itself, as is proved by the remains, was built by Horace in the most ventilated position in the valley, between the little wooded hillock and the slopes of the Lucretilis, thus catching every breeze. It is very small and simple and consists of the main block, of twelve rooms and one story high, with a convenient bathing establishment, and a large quadrangle in front laid out as a garden with a pool in the centre. The poet made Augustus his heir and thus his estate was swallowed up by the Imperial Fisc. At the beginning of the second century, under Trajan or Hadrian, it seems to have been sold and was very considerably enlarged by the new proprietor, while during the Middle Ages a church and monastery were built over the west side. The ruins thus present two principal periods—the earlier that of Horace, which is easily distinguished by the almost constant use of reticulated work of limestone, and that of the second century in brick, especially to the west of the main building. This later extension of the villa has not yet been fully explored.

The path ends on a mound which occupies part of the quadrangle that has not been completely excavated. The walls of the quadrangle and its portico round the garden can easily be traced, and we must suppose that the approach was from the valley to the south. From the custodian's

shanty we cross to the west side where are the principal remains of the later extension of the villa. A large oval building is very remarkable ; it seems to have been a tank or fountain, but the arrangements are by no means clear. It has been suggested that it is an aquarium for breeding fish, the eggs being deposited in the niches in the lower part of the wall ; it was later turned into the church of the monastery, which accounts for its good state of preservation. We now walk along the corridor of the quadrangle and reach the principal block. To the left is the bathing establishment, which was added soon after the construction and subsequently altered. One room with steps leading down to it is evidently the cold bath with a kind of shower ; the hot baths are easily recognizable by the remains of hypocausts. The rooms of the villa are in two rows separated by a corridor ; in the centre are two larger rooms, one of which is the atrium with its impluvium. This was the chief room of the house and steps lead down to the garden. Beyond it is another courtyard, like a peristyle only without columns, which had a fountain in the centre. This fountain was later enlarged to form the present more elaborate structure of brick. The object of the other rooms is uncertain ; one at least, is a bedroom, as is proved by the difference in the mosaic pavement for the space occupied by the bed. Several of the pavements are well preserved, but are only geometric patterns, probably imitating carpets, like the one in the house of Augustus on the Palatine. The rooms were frescoed and some small portions of the decoration found in the excavations are now preserved in the museum at Licenza.

A path leads up the side of the hill to the picturesque remains of a Renaissance nymphaeum built by the Orsini, where the waters from the Fons Bandusiae form a waterfall. It is probable that there was a similar structure here in antiquity, perhaps at the time of the extension of the villa on this side. The original Fons Bandusiae was near Horace's birthplace Venosa, but it is probable that he called the one above his villa by the same name, for the famous ode seems more appropriate to the Sabine country.

Licenza itself contains little of interest except the

museum of the antiquities found in the excavations, with some scattered pieces of decorative sculpture from the district. The continuation of the road beyond Licenza is singularly beautiful though deserted, with wonderful views over the mountains of the Abruzzi. One first passes the hamlet of Percile and then arrives at ORVINIO, a large village with a fine castle belonging to the Berlingieri. Beyond Orvinio the road continues to run through narrow mountain valleys till it emerges in the wide Sabine plain at the back of the hill of Farfa and, passing by Poggio Mojano, reaches the Via Quinzia Reatina (see p. 286), by which one can return to Rome.

SUBIACO

Sit pax intranti, sit gratia digna precanti.

The Via Valeria, after the valley of the Digentia, reaches the very picturesque Convent of S. Cosimato, built on a rock that almost closes the valley. Steps cut in the rock lead down to the channels of the aqueducts which crossed the valley at this, the narrowest, point, and to a number of caves said to have been inhabited by S. Benedict. In one of them he is supposed to have miraculously avoided a poisoned cup by which some of the monks attempted to rid themselves of their too rigid superior. In former times the gorge below the monastery was one of the most beautiful spots in the whole valley, but it has now been very much spoilt through the construction of the intake for the power-station of Castel Madama.

We now reach the station of Mandela, the junction for Subiaco. The road continues to run north-east and passes the station of CINETO ROMANO, a village on the hills to the left; near it is a very remarkable round well, excavated in the rock to a depth of 1,700 feet. A little farther on the valley of the Anio bends sharply to the south-east; we pass below the village of ROVIANO, now a castle of the Massimo. The road leading to it from the station passes the remains of a large villa, and beyond the village, in the

direction of Arsoli, is a magnificent bridge of the Via Valeria, called Ponte Scutonico. On the other side of the valley a road leads to ANTICOLI CORRADO, a favourite summer resort of the Roman artists. The origin of the name has been derived from its position Ante Collem, and the epithet Corrado was added from the name of one of its lords, Conrad of Antioch. The village is very picturesque and enjoys a wonderful view ; the Church of S. Peter has a few pieces of ancient frescoes and a fine mosaic pavement, while there are some remains of a Roman villa in the neighbourhood.

A little farther on the road divides ; the branch on the left is the continuation of the Valeria and goes north to Arsoli, where is the principal castle of the Massimo family. We continue along the valley of the Anio by the road called Sublacense. To the right are the villages of Marano Equo and the lofty Rocca Canterano ; to the left we pass below Agosta and Cervara di Roma. Some distance farther on we find a road to the right which leads into the hills, past Rocca Canterano, Gerano and Cerreto Laziale and joins the Via Empolitana between Ciciliano and Pisoniano (see p. 259), whence one can return to Rome either via Tivoli or via Palestrina, both roads being of great beauty. Not long after the fork for Canterano we reach Subiaco, picturesquely situated on a conical hill.

The village itself is ancient without being either interesting or picturesque. Its name comes from its position below the lakes formed by Nero for his villa, Sub Lacum (Sublaqueum), and it was probably first founded by the slaves and other officials connected with the villa and the aqueducts. It remained a free community during the early Middle Ages until it was captured in 1073 by the Abbot John of S. Scolastica, who began the construction of the castle and made it the centre of his power. It is still the seat of the abbot, who holds the rank and exercises the privileges of a bishop. The lower part of the city was rebuilt in its present shape by Pius VI, who was Abbot *in commendam*. On the other side of the Anio, near the cemetery, is the Church of S. Francesco, which contains a large and interesting triptych by Antoniazzo Romano.



SUBIACO : LOOKING TOWARDS GUADAGNOLO



But the chief interest of Subiaco is as a centre for the visit to the famous monasteries.

The narrow valley formed by the first part of the Anio had already been chosen as a residence by Nero, who, by building two barrages across the valley, formed three lakes, between two of which were the actual buildings. The emperor must have been fond of water, for one of the chief features of the Golden House was the great central lake, on the site of which was later built the Colosseum. These lakes were afterwards used by Trajan as filtering basins for his aqueduct and remained in existence till 1305, when two monks, by taking away some blocks of stone during an exceptional flood, so weakened the dam that it collapsed and the river, after causing great damage in the valley, returned to its primitive bed.

The villa must have been completely abandoned and the valley deserted by the end of the fifth century, when Benedict of Norcia retired to a cave in the hopes of emulating or surpassing the austerities of the Egyptian anchorites. Other hermitages already existed in the valley, but Benedict chose an almost inaccessible cave, and tradition has preserved the name of the pious monk Romanus who ministered to the bodily wants of the saint by occasionally lowering baskets of provisions by means of a rope. But after three years of a life more suited to the Eastern than to the Western character, and yielding, it is said, to the prayers of his twin sister Scholastica, Benedict consented to mitigate his austerity and to act as guide to the numerous other saintly men who inhabited the neighbourhood. He even undertook to guide a monastery near Vicovaro, perhaps S. Cosimato, but the monks found his severity unwelcome and tried to poison him, whereupon he returned to the valley. There he first began to elaborate the rule that was only to be drawn up in its final shape at Monte Cassino. He divided the hitherto undisciplined monastic population into twelve monasteries, each under the government of an abbot. The word 'monastery' is perhaps misleading, since it is associated in our minds with the magnificent buildings of later ages; perhaps the Eastern word *lavra* is more suited to describe the groups of cells,

some in the caves of the mountains, others nestling in the ruins of the Imperial villa, which were grouped round small rustic chapels. But the quiet of the saint and of his 144 disciples was still disturbed by the jealousy of Satan. On the other side of the lake, in the ruins of the Imperial nymphaeum, dwelt the wicked priest Florentius, ever plotting against the life and the virtues of the ascetic. At one time he sent a poisoned loaf of bread, but Benedict ordered his faithful crow to carry it far away. The attempt to undermine the moral tone of the community by the attractions of seven prostitutes was rather more serious, and in A.D. 529 Benedict, guided by three crows, led his flock out of temptation to the safe haven of Montecassino. But Florentius was unable to celebrate his victory; as the saint's foot left the valley the wicked priest was overwhelmed by the ruins of his house, which at once collapsed.

The history of the twelve monasteries after the departure of the saint and of a considerable number of his disciples is very obscure, and veiled in the doubly impenetrable mist of legend and forgery. In the time of Gregory the Great a disciple by name of Honoratus still had care of the master's cave, but the famous document by which Gregory, himself a native of this region, bestowed valuable properties on the monastery now known as S. Scolastica, is undoubtedly a forgery. In 601 the monasteries were destroyed by the Lombards and the monks dispersed; after about a hundred years they returned only to fly again before the Saracens in 846. A curious relief in the cloister of S. Scolastica is the only definite proof of the existence of the monastery in the ninth century. The authentic history of the monastery of S. Scolastica begins with Abbot Leo II in 923. The importance and the possessions of the abbey increase greatly through the favour of Alberic and of the popes of his family. Benedict VII is supposed to have consecrated the new church in 981, and it was visited by the Emperor Otho III, who must have surprised the shades of his Imperial predecessor Nero. It is amusing to conjecture what the Imperial mystic's thoughts must have been on the shores of the lake that

once resounded with the festivities of Nero and Petronius. It may, however, be presumed that the German Caesar's thoughts were more profitably employed in meditating on the life of S. Benedict.

The eleventh and twelfth centuries are the most splendid period in the monastic history. The possessions of the abbey can still be read on the inscription which the Abbot Humbert placed on his Campanile in 1053. Up to that time the monastery had remained faithful to the Imperial cause, but the Abbot John of Farfa was a friend and an ardent supporter of Gregory VII. He became a cardinal and was one of the chief counsellors of Paschal II. But towards the end of the twelfth century the constant struggles with Tivoli began to undermine the prosperity of Subiaco. Yet the support of Innocent III enabled the abbots to display a great building activity, and the principal portions of both S. Scolastica and of the Sacro Speco are of the first half of the thirteenth century. During this period Nero's lake saw its last great visitor before it disappeared for ever; probably in 1222 Francis of Assisi, following in the footsteps of Nero, of S. Benedict, and of Otho III, visited the birthplace of Western monasticism. But already during the course of the century the bad administration of the abbots and the rivalry between the two monasteries began the decline, which became rapid after the departure of the Holy See to Avignon and the terrible visitation of the Black Death. Yet even during this period it was possible for the abbots to decorate the churches with paintings. In the hopes of reforming the habits of the monks the free election of the abbot was abolished and it was created an abbey *in commendam*, the first of the new abbots being the famous theologian, the Cardinal Torquemada, a far greater man than his more celebrated kinsman, the inquisitor. It was during his rule that two Germans—Arnold Pannartz and Conrad Schweynheim, disciples of Fust and Schöffer—came from Mainz and set up in the monastery of S. Scolastica in 1465 the first printing press in Italy. Here they printed Lactantius, the *De Oratore* and the *De Civitate Dei*, and then, in 1467, they went to Rome to continue working for the houses of the Massimi.

The *commenda* was held subsequently by the worthy successor of Nero, Roderigo Borgia, who used it as a bribe to win the vote of the Cardinal Colonna in the conclave by which he was made Pope. It thus passed into the hands of the Colonna family, which held it like an entailed estate till 1608, and then in 1633 it received a second dynasty of rulers, the Barberini, who held it for over a century. In 1753 Pope Benedict XIV abolished the feudal and temporal jurisdiction of the abbot *in commendam*, while Pius IX in 1872 emancipated the monks from their dependence on Montecassino and allowed them to practise a stricter observation of the rule. Finally in 1915 Benedict XV abolished the *commenda* and restored to the monastery the full spiritual jurisdiction over the diocese.

Soon after leaving the village of Subiaco the high-road comes to the gorge of the Anio, which it crosses on a lofty bridge. Just before reaching it a road leads off on the left and soon reaches the remains of the villa of Nero at the point where the dam was built across the valley. We must imagine the waters of the lake as coming up to this point, and forming a long, narrow sheet of water, a kind of Lake Como in miniature. Other remains, perhaps part of the nymphaeum, may be seen on the other side and were united to the platform on which we stand by means of a bridge of which seven pilasters still exist. The road goes on to Jenne, beyond which one can continue to VALLEPIETRA and the famous Sanctuary of the Trinity on the Monte Autore. The church is built over Roman remains and contains some curious frescoes, but is chiefly remarkable for the festival held on the Sunday after Pentecost, which attracts thousands of pilgrims from all over the mountains. It is still one of the few festivals which has not been commercialized, and some of the scenes, especially during the night, take one back both to the superstition and to the faith of the mediaeval Church. Unfortunately motors will soon be able to desecrate both the Sacro Speco and the Monte Autore.

From the remains of the villa of Nero a path in the limestone rock leads up to the monasteries. We first pass a little chapel commemorating the miracle of S. Benedict,

who, when the young Placidus fell into the lake, told his faithful disciple Maurus to walk over the waters and pull him out. We then reach the buildings of S. Scolastica, which, on this side, are rather disappointing. We first enter a large cloister of 1580 ; on one of the pilasters is a full-length figure of James III of England. We then pass into another cloister or atrium with pointed arches which was probably built in about 1274. It is very picturesque and is decorated with a large Gothic archway, a late addition of the German monks of the fifteenth century. From here we can admire the Campanile, the earliest portion of the buildings, which was set up by the Abbot Humbertus in 1053. Below it is the entrance to the church, with a picturesque Gothic doorway ; on the walls are some badly preserved frescoes and near it a Cosmatesque throne and the curious relief of the eighth century with the incredibly rough figures of two stags drinking at a fountain. The church itself was completely modernized in 1771 by Quarenghi and is now only interesting as an early example of the neo-classic style. From the sacristy a stair descends to the Cave of the Angels and the Chapel of S. Bede, where are preserved the supposed remains of the very hypothetical Abbot Honoratus, who is supposed to have been the first successor of S. Benedict, and the tomb of the more historical Bishop of Maiorca, who died in 1428 and decorated the chapels with frescoes that have been so entirely repainted that hardly a trace of the original work is left. From the church we pass into the Cosmatesque cloister, the most charming portion of the monastery, built under Abbot Landus by Cosmas and his two sons Lucas and Iacobus. It is one of the finest examples of the earlier type of Cosmatesque cloister ; in the ambulatories have been placed many fragments from the church and the district. The archives of the monastery are very valuable and contain a number of early diplomas and of interesting autographs ; the library has also copies of the books printed here in 1465-67.

We now leave the monastery and continue the steep and fatiguing path to the Sacro Speco. After passing Sta Scolastica one should glance back, for its appearance from

here is far more imposing, and one can easily trace the earlier constructions. After some twenty minutes we reach a beautiful grove of ilexes which are sacred to S. Benedict, and after going up some steps come to a kind of platform on the side of the monastery and on the level of the upper church. Here we can see how the buildings have been constructed against the face of the rock, much as in the monastery of Megaspelaion in the Peloponnese. Originally the only entrance was from below, and the present entrance to the church was protected by a draw-bridge. The Church (or rather the Churches) of the Sacro Speco contain no great treasures of art; the frescoes are second-rate works of the Roman, the Sieneese, and the Umbrian schools, yet it is a place which preserves to a very great degree the sentiment of early mysticism.

The approach to the upper church is through a long corridor decorated with poor frescoes by a scholar of Perugino. The upper church is divided into two bays, of which the first is very much loftier than the second. The pavement is of Cosmatesque mosaic, while the pulpit is of the thirteenth century. The first bay is entirely covered by frescoes of the life of Christ by an unknown Sieneese painter of the middle of the fourteenth century, those of the next bay and of the chapels that form the transept are scenes from the life of S. Benedict and S. Scolastica, as well as from the lives of the saints. They are the work of an Umbrian painter of the fifteenth century very similar to Ottaviano Nelli of Gubbio.

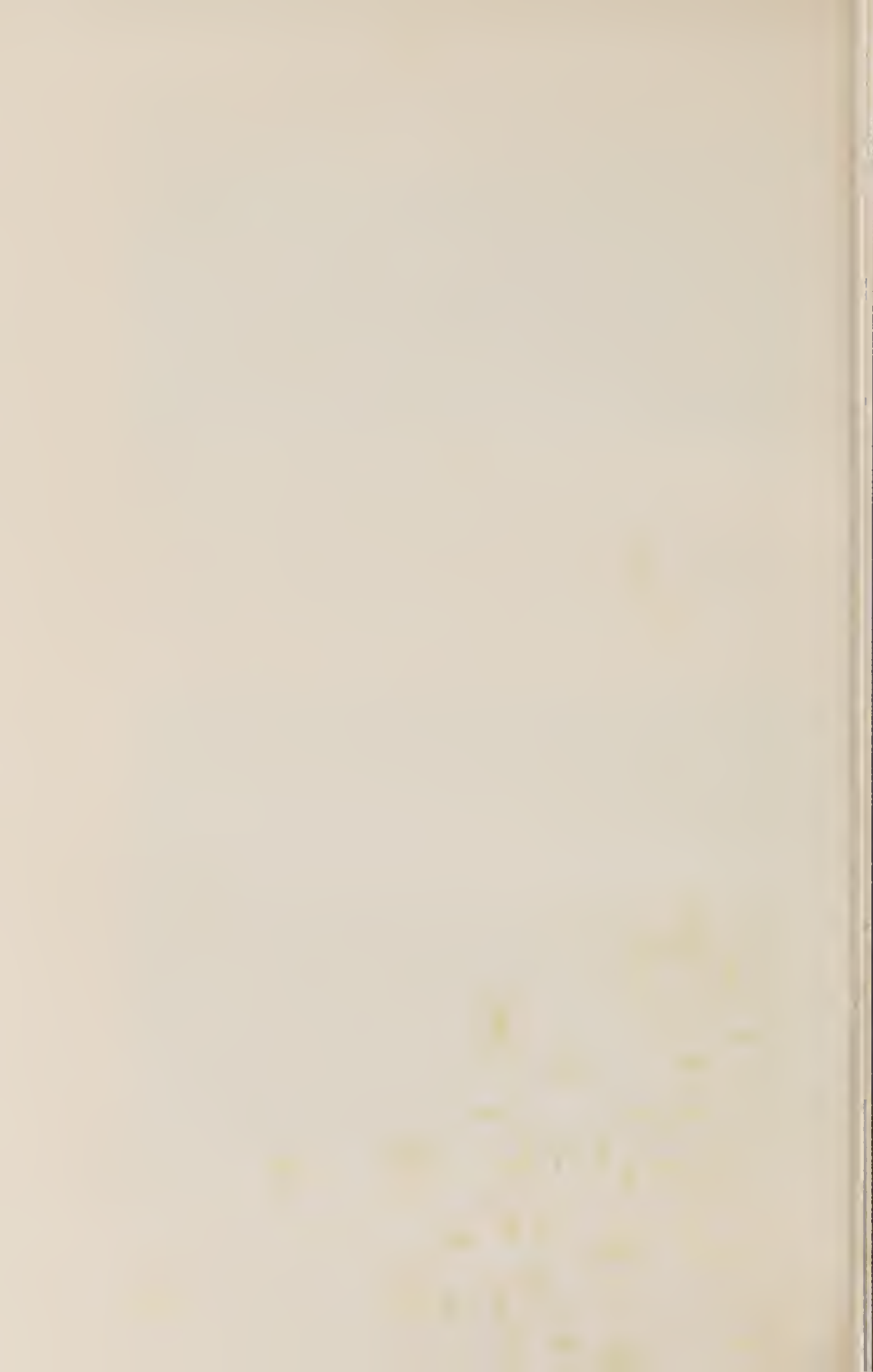
The lower church is very irregular in appearance since a large number of chapels and stairs open from it. The frescoes illustrate the life of S. Benedict, except for the very interesting representation of Innocent III granting a Bull. They are the work of a Magister Conxolus, who was probably a contemporary or a disciple of Cavallini. Though not a great artist he has many merits, notably that of being able to tell a story clearly and without any unnecessary elaboration of detail. To the right is the cave in which the saint is supposed to have lived. The rock has been left bare but the statue of the youthful saint by Antonio Raggi, a follower of Bernini, although quite good



S. SCOLASTICA AND THE SACRO SPECO



THE SACRO SPECO



of its kind, is distinctly out of place here ; the sentimentality of the seventeenth century is always rather inclined to clash with that of the thirteenth. A modern stair gives access to the Chapel of S. Gregory, consecrated by Gregory IX when still Bishop of Ostia and frescoed in the second year of his pontificate (1228) by an artist who probably was one of those who worked in the crypt at Anagni. The most interesting picture is undoubtedly the famous portrait of S. Francis, without nimbus and without stigmata, painted two years after his death, when Gregory IX was debating about his canonization. The picture of the consecration of the altar is also of great historical value.

A long and irregular flight of steps, the so-called Scala Santa, leads down from the lower church to the ancient entrance, which is now no longer in use. The walls are frescoed by the same Sienese master who painted the first bay of the upper church ; the scene with the Triumph of Death may have been prompted by a recollection of the Black Death in 1348. The same artist painted the scenes of the Life of Our Lady in the chapel which is almost at the foot of the steps. The little garden in front of the monastery contains the roses said to have been grafted by S. Francis on the thorn bushes in which S. Benedict rolled to mortify his flesh. Unfortunately for this poetic legend the terrace on which they grow was certainly not in existence at that time. In the little cave called the Grotta dei Pastori are the remains of a fresco of the Madonna and Child of the ninth century, the earliest painting in the monastery.

THE VIA EMPOLITANA

This is a delightful drive which may be used as an alternative route either for Subiaco or for Palestrina, passing perhaps the finest scenery in the whole of Latium. Instead of entering Tivoli one turns to the right to the Porta S. Giovanni where the Via Empolitana begins. It is so called because it led to Empulum, which has also given its name to the valley, Fosso dell' Empiglione. The road

passes in front of the cemetery and then reaches the very picturesque Ponte degli Arci, before which the road is crossed by an arch of the Marcia, incorporated in the later fortifications. The remains of the various aqueducts are very numerous and can be seen on either side of the road. On the little Colle Monitola, on the left, are some remains of an ancient villa.

A road on the left leads to Castel Madama on the hill which dominates the road. A little farther on is the Mola dell' Empiglionne, where the road takes a sharp hair-pin bend ; on the hill to the left are very considerable ruins, both ancient and mediaeval. The former are perhaps those of the ancient city or Castle of EMPULUM, the latter are those of the Massa Apolloni, a castle that belonged to the Crescenzi and the Orsini but was finally destroyed by the citizens of Tivoli. On the other side of the valley, high up on the slopes of the Guadagnolo, are some remains of a villa which is popularly supposed to have belonged to S. Silvia, the mother of S. Gregory the Great. Farther on a mountain-path leads to SAMBUCCI, the little village perched on the hills to the left, and then the road passes close to the ruins of the Castle of SAXULA, captured by the Romans in 401 B.C., with finely preserved walls and terraces of polygonal masonry. The road now turns to the south and the detached spur of the Mentorella, the scene of the hunt of S. Eustace, comes into sight. A road to the left leads to CICILIANO, perhaps the ancient Sicelion, with traces of polygonal terraces all up the hill-side.

Those who wish to go direct to Subiaco take the next road to the left, which passes between Cerreto and Gerano. The Empolitana goes straight on, past the Mentorella, to PISONIANO, which is the best place from which to attempt the interesting but fatiguing climb to the Guadagnolo. GUADAGNOLO itself is the loftiest village in Latium, being nearly 4,000 feet above the sea-level, but, except for the view and a colossal statue of the Redeemer, is not of great interest. The sanctuary of the MENTORELLA, on the other hand, built on the rock from which the stag spoke to S. Eustace, seems to be of the tenth century but was abandoned in 1390 and only restored through the care of

the famous Jesuit Father Kircher. It is now occupied by Polish monks and contains some valuable relics and a very curious wooden relief showing the miracle and Pope Sylvester baptizing Constantine and consecrating the church.

After Pisoniano the road forks ; the branch to the left goes to S. Vito, the other, which is far finer, climbs the side of the hill to CAPRANICA, with an interesting church, said to have been designed by Michael Angelo, and to Castel S. Pietro above Palestrina (p. 202).

CHAPTER XII

THE VIA NOMENTANA. MENTANA AND PALOMBARA

*Me Nomentani confirmant otia ruris
Et casa iugeribus non onerosa suis.*

—MART. VI, xliii

THE Via Nomentana is a road of the greatest antiquity since it communicates with many early towns in the territory between the Sabina and Tivoli. But its course is arrested by the lofty range of the Monte Gennaro, the highest mountain in Latium, and therefore it never became, like the Salaria and the Tiburtina, an international highway. It was, and has remained to the present day, a suburban branch line. The monuments to be met with along its course are neither numerous nor important, but it offers some charming short excursions. This portion of the Campagna is still very sparsely inhabited and the views are among the finest in the neighbourhood of Rome. The great symmetrical mass of the Monte Gennaro occupies the whole of the centre, continuing on the right with Tivoli, the Guadagnolo, and Palestrina. The scene is closed on the right by the Alban hills, on the left by the isolated Soracte, with, on a clear day, the peak of the Ciminian hill in the distance. Behind one lies the city and Monte Mario, with the great Dome rising at most unexpected times in the most unexpected places. To enjoy the Nomentana a fine, clear day is imperative, preferably in the early spring or late autumn. In summer the parched and burnt-up landscape is depressing; in the winter the state of the roads may render motoring unpleasant. In general the roads in the district are not bad, but every now and then one comes to a number of holes or ruts that require careful negotiation.

The first portion of the present Via Nomentana does not correspond to the ancient one, which followed a far more devious course to the right, and the two only coincide at

and beyond the Church of S. Agnese. This church, with its catacombs and circus-shaped cemetery, and the mausoleum of Constantina must be considered, like S. Sebastiano, to which the whole group bears much affinity, as now belonging to the sights of the city. Immediately beyond S. Agnese we pass on the right the wall of the Villa Blanc above which towers a round building of masonry in appearance rather like a water-tower. It is really an ancient tomb but does not belong to the road, having been found on the Via Flaminia and reconstructed here. The road now widens just before the railway bridge and in the valley to the left is the interesting tomb known as the Sedia del Diavolo. It is of the middle of the second century A.D. and is of considerable importance in the history of architecture. As usual at that time, it consists of two stories; the lower chamber, which has also an antechamber, is lit by slit windows and has quadripartite vaulting, the upper is faced with fine ornamental brickwork and was covered by a flat dome supported by triangular pendentives. It has been attributed, but without any serious foundation, to a certain P. Aelius Callistion, a freedman of Hadrian.

Returning to the Nomentana, we now descend into the valley of the Anio and see before us the dreadful suburb that has grown up since the war, the so-called Città Giardino Aniene. It has altered the line of the road which now runs across the Anio on a modern bridge. The old road is, however, still preserved on the right, and the very picturesque mediaeval bridge, with its central tower, is worthy of inspection, since it is the only surviving example of this very frequent type of fortified bridge. Beyond it a hill now covered with small but hopeful cypresses is probably the Mons Sacer of antiquity. A very late tradition stated that in 449 B.C. the Roman *plebs*, infuriated by patrician oppression, went on strike and marched out here, intending to found a new city, but were persuaded to return by Menenius Agrippa's famous parable of the belly and the members. The tradition has very little historical value; if a secession actually occurred it took place on the Aventine, as stated by all the older versions of the story.

The story was perhaps connected with the Mons Sacer in order to explain the name of the latter. It is curious, however, to note that, after the war, the homeless Romans have unwillingly been obliged to secede to this spot. Perhaps a case of history repeating itself?

Beyond the bridge there are a couple of concrete tomb cores. If, as is probable, we cross the Anio over the modern bridge, the road immediately on the left leads along the banks of the Anio to the Via Salaria. A road to the left of the hideous church is the ancient Via Patinaria and is well worthy of an excursion on a fine day for the magnificent and varied views one enjoys from it. Immediately after leaving the suburb it forks. The road on the right is the ancient Patinaria and runs in a fairly straight course past the large Colonia Agricola della Bufalotta, an agricultural training centre for orphans of war, to the Chiesuola della Bufalotta, on an ancient tomb just beyond its crossing of the road from Sette Bagni on the Salaria to the Nomentana, by which the return can be made. The other branch is the more interesting. It is also on an ancient line, and after about half a mile from the fork passes to the left of some remains of a Roman villa which existed under Casale Chiari. They are of no great importance and are not visible from the road, but they probably belong to the Villa of Phaon where Nero committed suicide. Suetonius's graphic description should be read. The emperor woke up at about midnight to find that the guards and even most of his servants had abandoned him. He rushed out as though to throw himself into the Tiber, but his courage failed him and he desired some private place in which to collect his thoughts. His freedman Phaon offered him his villa at the fourth mile of the Via Patinaria between the Salaria and the Nomentana. Without even dressing he mounted his horse and fled by the Via Nomentana; in passing by the Praetorian camp he heard the soldiers cursing him. An earthquake and flashes of summer lightning added to the horror of the fugitive. When they reached the lane that led to the villa they left their horses and, with great difficulty, pushed a way through bushes and corn brake to a hiding-place in the valley below and behind

the villa. Here Phaon suggested that he should hide in an old pozzolana quarry, such as one can still see all over this part of the Campagna, but Nero refused to go underground before his time. A hole was made in the wall of the villa, and by this he entered and lay down on a couch in the first room he came to. He continued to put off the fatal moment, but at last, hearing the approach of the horsemen who were coming to seize him, he placed a dagger against his breast and his other freedman, Epaphroditus, drove it home.

Even though the remains of the villa are not easy to find, the general scene can easily be reconstructed. It is obvious by the account of Suetonius that even at that time this part of the Campagna was but sparsely inhabited, a fact which is confirmed by the comparative absence of ancient remains. The identification of the site with the villa of Phaon is still further strengthened by the discovery in 1891 of the cinerary urn of Claudia Egloge, Nero's old nurse, who, together with Acte, performed his burial. He certainly seems to have had a number of very devoted friends.

After these houses the road continues in a more or less straight line for another kilometre, with magnificent views to the right. Then, passing by Casale Nei, the modern road descends into the valley on the left, leaving the course of the ancient one, which went straight on. Its course is now very irregular, going up and down over the hills and the marrane of a typical portion of the Campagna. It will probably be necessary to stop and open several gates, but they are fortunately never locked. They should, however, be carefully refastened so as not to allow the cattle to stray. The road crosses a plateau and, immediately after a gate, turns to the left and, passing in front of a large farm-house, descends into the valley of the Bufalotta. Directly opposite is the mediaeval tower and Casale of Redicicoli, one of the most picturesque in the Campagna, while on the hill above it is the huge building of the Colonia Agricola for war orphans. The road now turns into a most useful cross-road; the branch to the right leads to the Via Nomentana, crossing the other branch of the Via

Patinaria. But it is far better to return by the road to the left, which leads along the Bufalotta to the Via Salaria immediately above Castel Giubileo (p. 284), with the view of the tufa cliffs on the other side of the Tiber, crowned by the well-known ruined tomb above the Osteria della Celsa on the Via Flaminia.

The Via Nomentana, which we left in front of the Church at the Città Giardino, crosses the hill of the suburb by a cutting which is partly ancient but has recently been widened and deepened out of all recognition. At the bottom of the descent on the other side, to the left of the road are, or were till a few weeks ago (in this neighbourhood one can never be certain that a few old walls may not disappear overnight), some remains of tombs. The road bends to the right and immediately after a branch road to Ponte Mammolo we come to the very picturesque Casale dei Pazzi, surrounded by beautiful pines. The road descends and crosses a stream called Fosso della Cesarina. At the top of the rise on the other side is an ancient tomb called Torraccio della Cecchina or Spuntapiedi. Its construction is similar to that of the Sedia del Diavolo and has the same architectural peculiarities but is much smaller. The skilful use of polychrome brickwork should be noticed. From this point the view is superb; it is perhaps the finest place from which to embrace the whole circle of the hills round Rome.

A little farther on we cross the road coming from Castel Giubileo (see above); on the right it goes on to the Via Tiburtina at Cervara, passing on the right the Casale S. Basilio, built on an ancient reservoir near a villa of the first century B.C. that was excavated a few years ago. Just beyond this point the Nomentana bends a little to the left, avoiding a considerable group of ancient remains known as the Ruder del Coazzo, part of a large mediaeval castle. From this point many portions of the ancient pavement are visible to the left of the road. A little farther on the Casale del Coazzo, on the left, occupies an ancient site, probably a villa. The road now crosses a road that leads from the Tiburtina to Settebagni on the Salaria, passing, on the left of the Via Nomentana, the

Casale della Cesarina, on or near the probable site of the early city of Ficulea of which little is known. It had probably almost disappeared in Imperial times, but the name was applied to all this district, in which Atticus, Cicero's friend and correspondent, had a villa. In early times it must have been a place of considerable importance, since the Via Nomentana was originally called the Via Ficulensis.

The Nomentana, after passing a fine piece of ancient paving and a small monument commemorating some Fascists, reaches the Basilica and Catacombs of S. Alesandro. Tradition supposes this person to have been the second-century Pope of that name, but that is most unlikely on account of the distance from Rome if for no other reason. The itineraries state that here rested the bodies of S. Eventius and S. Alexander in a single tomb and near by that of a S. Theodulus. They were probably martyrs of the neighbouring village of Ficulea, which, in early times, seems to have been a diocese but was later united to that of Nomentum. The bodies of the martyrs were buried by a matron called Severina; after Constantine a small church was built over the spot and, in the fifth century a new basilica was added by a certain Bishop Ursus. Under Paschal I, at the beginning of the ninth century, the relics of the martyrs were translated to Rome and the church rapidly fell into ruin and was actually lost till it was re-excavated in 1855. Pope Pius IX took a great interest in this discovery and contributed extensively to the restoration. On April 12th of that year he inaugurated the church, and it was on his return from this ceremony that he stopped at S. Agnese, where the floor of the room in which the Pope and his court were being entertained collapsed, but fortunately without injuring anyone.

The key of the excavations is kept in the osteria to the right of the road. Descending some steps we find ourselves in the earlier church that was entered from the Via Nomentana. Since at that time it would have been considered sacrilege to move the bodies of the saints, the altar had to be placed obliquely to the axis of the church. As we are informed by the inscription, it was built by

Bishop Ursus (c. A.D. 405) and is one of the best examples of an altar of that period. Under it was the sarcophagus containing the relics of the martyrs, which could be seen by the faithful through a grating in the front. An opening in the centre, the *fenestella confessionis*, allowed them to touch the dust on the tomb with handkerchiefs and cloths. Four columns supported a ciborium, the gift of a lady called Iunia Sabina. Behind the altar, in the centre of the square apse, are traces of the bishop's throne, while in front of it the pavement of the *schola cantorum* is clearly recognizable. To the left of the church, opposite the modern steps by which we descended, are some chapels, the most important of which must be the one of S. Theodulus. The entrance wall of the old church was removed by Ursus, who built a larger church but with opposite orientation, so that the apse is towards the Via Nomentana. It also contains an altar and a bishop's throne. Mass is always said here on May 3rd, the feast day of the three saints and is a most impressive service. The catacombs that surround the church are of little interest.

The road now bends a little to the left and, passing an ancient tomb, reaches the Casale di Capobianco. Some excavations in 1795 led to the discovery of a small public bathing establishment belonging to Aurelia Faustianina, who declared, in the sign that was put up outside, that one could here have a bath in city fashion and receive the best attention: *Lavatur more urbico et omnis humanitas praestatur*. From this casale a road leads on the right to the Tiburtina at Settecamini. About half-way along it a road on the left, the Strada Vecchia di Palombara, follows the line of an ancient road that led directly to Palombara and the Montes Corniculani. It follows the extremely picturesque valleys of Marco Simone and Fosso Molette, but unfortunately it has not been kept up in recent years and it is now practically impossible for anything except a Ford. Walkers who would like to enjoy the scenery can, however, go on foot and send their car round by Mentana, meeting it at the Osteria Nuova on the road from Mentana to Palombara (p. 272).

After the Casale Capobianco the Via Nomentana turns

to the left and passes in front of the picturesque group of farm-houses known as the Case Nuove. Farther on, to the right of the road, is the large fortified farm known as Casale S. Antonio. After about a kilometre the road turns to the right, passing by a lofty mediaeval tower, the Torre Lupara; near it are many traces of ancient remains. To the right, on a slight eminence, is the Casale di Monte Gentile, which probably occupies an ancient site, but it is hardly possible to give it a name. It has been suggested that it may have been Caenina, one of the cities that fought to avenge the rape of the Sabines but was defeated and captured by Romulus, who slew its king, Acron, with his own hand. Like most of the 'lost cities of Latium' we have no data which could enable us to fix its position even approximately, but it was probably very much nearer Rome. Pliny mentions it as one of the famous cities that in his day had entirely disappeared, but its name survived in a special priesthood, the 'Sacerdotium Caeninense', which subsisted till a late period.

The road now bends to the left and passes, on the left, a chamber of concrete, probably a tomb. A little farther, on the hill to the right, stands a large round tomb known as Torre Mancini; in Nibby's time it still preserved its cornice, which is said to have been like that of the Arch of Titus. The road descends, rises, and then descends very sharply into the Fosso Ormeto. At the beginning of this descent, which in part is through a deep cutting, is the most interesting monument of Roman engineering to be seen on the Nomentana. The earth embankment on either side had to be supported by walls, and the one on the right is well preserved. It is a massive wall of brick-faced concrete with a series of niches, in one of which has later been cut a square shrine, and projecting buttresses. The mass of the concrete is pierced by a large number of weep-holes, formed by two concave tiles, which drain the embankment behind.

After crossing the stream the road rises and passes by several farms, which become more frequent as we approach Mentana. There are no remains of antiquity and very little of interest till, at the beginning of a dangerous descent,

we come in sight of Mentana, at the end of a plateau, and nestling round the great castle-palace with its semicircular towers. On the cliffs to the left of the ravine may be spied the scanty remains of an advanced watch-tower.

The village of MENTANA certainly occupies a portion of the site of the ancient Nomentum which stretched over the higher ground on the east, although there are no ancient remains now visible. As usual, the Romans had long arguments as to whether it should be considered a Latin or a Sabine city. It was undoubtedly the former, but Virgil kept on the safe side by putting it among the Latin cities in one passage (*Nomentum et Gabios urbemque Fidenam*, VI, 773) and among the Sabine in another (VII, 712). It is most unlikely that there was any very profound difference between the Latins and the Sabines, and cities like Nomentum seem to have tried to maintain their independence by allying themselves sometimes with Rome and sometimes with the Sabines. It was certainly one of the cities that took part in the *Feriae Latinae* on the Alban mount and was also part of the empire of the Tarquins, but, after the expulsion of the kings from Rome, it seems to have remained free for some time, certainly till the defeat of the Fidenates in a battle before its walls in 435 B.C. It took part in the Latin war of 338 B.C. and was admitted to full citizenship, although it preserved its own magistrates, the chief of whom was a *dictator*. It was, and is still, a good agricultural district and as such retained its prosperity through the Empire. Atticus, Seneca, Martial, and his friends Q. Ovidius and Nepos, all had estates there, but they should probably be considered more in the light of farms than of luxurious villas. One of the chief products was wine, which was not considered one of the fine wines, but Martial claims that it was as good as any, when old :

*In Nomentanis, Ovidi, quod nascitur agris,
accepit quotiens tempora longa, merum
exuit annosa mores nomenque senecta,
et quidquid voluit, testa vocatur anus.*

—MART. I, cv

During the early Middle Ages its importance seems to have increased, since from the third to the tenth century it

was the seat of a bishop. In A.D. 800 Pope Leo III and the chief citizens of Rome went to Nomentum to receive Charles, King of the Franks, soon to be crowned Emperor of Rome, and it is not unlikely that at this meeting the Pope and the King prepared that 'unpremeditated' ceremony. The name of the town was gradually corrupted into Civitas Nomentana, La Mentana, whence the present Mentana.

Owing partly to the Saracen invasions and partly to the growth of feudalism, it seems to have declined rapidly and to have passed into the hands of the Crescenzi, who held the strong neighbouring Castle of Grotta Marozza. Here was born the famous Crescentius, who ruled Rome for a considerable length of time, was besieged in Castel S. Angelo by Otto III, and afterwards executed. In 1203, it or rather the castle that had taken the place of the town, was held by the monks of the monastery of S. Paul in Rome, but, towards the end of that century, Nicholas III gave it to his nephew Orso Orsini, and it remained in the hands of that family for three centuries. In 1486 it was captured by the troops of Innocent VIII who was supporting the Colonna against the Orsini and, since the people revolted against the papal garrison on receiving a false report of the Pope's death, it was partly destroyed. It was restored to the Orsini on the conclusion of peace between the Pope and the King of Naples. In 1594 it was sold for 250,000 *scudi* to Michele Peretti, Prince of Venafrò and nephew of Sixtus V, and from that family it passed into the hands of the Borghese. On September 3rd 1867 Garibaldi and his volunteers, who had already captured Monterotondo, gave battle at Mentana to a very much larger force of papal and French troops and were completely defeated. The escape of Garibaldi himself was favoured by the papal generals, who had no wish to have so embarrassing a prisoner. As his exploit was entirely private, the Italian government being at peace with the Papacy, the expedition was, technically, an act of brigandage. In this battle some of the French troops made use for the first time of the chassepot, with such deadly effect that many Italians thought they would be certain of victory in the war of 1870.

Mentana itself contains little of interest. The castle is a characteristic building of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries which originally must have somewhat resembled Bracciano with its semicircular towers round the enceinte. With the coming of milder manners this purely military castle was turned into a palace, especially by the Peretti whose arms appear over the handsome doorway. The entrance to the palace, seen through the gateway of the *Borgo*, is very picturesque, in spite of, or perhaps owing to, its dilapidated condition. The neighbouring church was built in the eighteenth century on the site of a hospital; in it Pope S. Felix I is supposed to be buried.

Passing to the right of the mediaeval village the road runs through the modern Mentana, which is hardly more than a number of houses built along it. To the right is the handsome monument and ossuary to the fallen in the battle. It is in the form of an altar of peperino placed on a high mound. Immediately beyond it a road turns off to the right from the main road and leads to Palombara. The ancient Via Nomentana now continued straight on for some miles till it reached the Via Salaria, but this section was abandoned during the Middle Ages, perhaps through the construction of the Castle of Grotta Marozza on its course, and it is now nothing more than a track. The modern road goes to the left and, passing through an uninteresting but well-cultivated stretch of country, soon reaches Monterotondo.

Just before the high-road enters the modern village, a country road, not too good nor yet too bad, leads off to the right to the famous Castle of GROTTA MAROZZA. After descending some way into the valley and passing in front of the cemetery it turns sharply to the left beneath a rocky hill crowned with olives, appropriately called Monte Oliveto. It now follows the track of the old Via Nomentana and the bridle-path that goes off to the right at the turning is the old line of the road and leads to Mentana. The other path that leads straight ahead in continuation of the carriage road passes by a delightful wood, also appropriately named Gattaceca, and reaches a sulphur spring, which is probably the *Aquae Labanae* mentioned by Strabo.

The ruins of Grotta Marozza are seen immediately on turning the corner at Monte Oliveto on a high hill to the left of the road. It is the oldest castle in the Campagna, since it was in existence in the eleventh century, when it belonged to the Crescentii. In the thirteenth it passed into the hands of the Orsini. The name is probably a corruption of Marozia, a common mediaeval diminutive of Maria; the name is chiefly known through the infamous Marozia, the daughter of Theodora, and wife, among others, of Alberic, Count of Tusculum. The name was, however, so common that there is no reason to connect the castle with this particular Marozia. The ruins are very scanty, consisting chiefly of the foundations of the square keep, with later additions, and some parts of the walls that ran round the summit of the hill. There are also some cisterns and vaults. The view embraces the whole of the lower part of the Sabine country and also the other bank of the Tiber, and well repays the visit. At Grotta Marozza the road comes to an end, but walkers can continue the course of the Nomentana over the Fosso della Bufala, past the mediaeval Torre Fiora, and then, by a path to the left, reach the Salaria near the Cantoniera Casa Cotta.

We now return to MONTEROTONDO, a prosperous but not very interesting village. Strangely enough, it does not appear to occupy an ancient site and there is no mention of it before the eleventh century, when it belonged to the monks of S. Paolo. Its history is similar to that of Mentana, having been for over three centuries a property of the Orsini. In 1640 it was sold to the Barberini and is now the property of the Boncompagni family. It was captured on October 25th 1867 by Garibaldi, who held it till his defeat at Mentana on November 3rd.

The great palace is, like the one at Mentana, a transformation of an earlier Orsini castle of which the only visible portion is the lofty tower; its summit commands a magnificent view and was therefore used as a point for the first trigonometric survey of Latium in 1822 by Sir William Gell. His remarks on the town, which he erroneously thought might be the site of Crustumerium, are amusing and even now not devoid of truth: 'It has more the air

of a town than is usual in this country ; but the people and the streets are not of the cleanest description'. The interior of the palace is handsome and deserves a visit. The pictures in the churches are not wholly contemptible. From Monterotondo an easy road leads down into the Tiber valley to the Via Salaria.

PALOMBARA

If at Mentana we take the first road on the right after passing the Ossuary we come, after crossing a delightful piece of still very deserted country, to the Strada Vecchia di Palombara (see p. 266). Although this track here looks just as good as the one on which we have come from Mentana, the motorist must refrain from yielding to the temptation of utilizing it for his return. From the Osteria Nuova, where the two roads join, the present road continues the course of the strada Vecchia, which is itself an old Roman road. After about half a mile a road to the right leads to S. ANGELO ROMANO, formerly called S. Angelo in Capoccia from the name of the Roman family that owned it. It is the most westerly of the three Montes Corniculani of which the most easterly is Monte Celio (p. 209), while the central and loftiest one, Poggio Cesi, is merely occupied by the ruins of a mediaeval castle. These hills are very probably the Montes Corniculani, but it is impossible to determine which one is the site of Corniculum itself, since ancient remains exist both at S. Angelo and in Monte Celio, but not, curiously enough, on Poggio Cesi (see p. 209). If Corniculum is placed at Monte Celio, S. Angelo might be the site of Medullia, a city about which we know still less, except that it was strongly fortified, a piece of information which might have been presumed. In the village itself there are now no remains of antiquity, though parts of its polygonal walls are said to have been in existence about a hundred years ago. On the slope of the hill both to the north and to the south of the village are numerous and extensive remains of ancient villas. From the

village there is a road which leads to the Via Tiburtina at Bagni.

Continuing along the road to Palombara, immediately after the fork, we pass on the right a ruined mill called *Il Molino del Moro*, which rests on a great reservoir of reticulated work. Farther on a road on the left leads to CASTELCHIODATO, founded by the Savelli to protect their fief of Palombara from the Orsini States at Mentana. It is a wretched village, but it possesses, above an altar in the main church, a most extraordinary wooden relief, gilt and painted. It represents Our Lord seated on a throne with His hands in the attitude of benediction: a woman stands on the throne and pours a bottle of ointment over His head, while at His feet another woman, probably intended as the Magdalen, holds another bottle and dries the feet with her hair. The relief, although the colouring has been restored, is in an excellent state of preservation and is characteristic of the Roman school of the thirteenth century, which was still completely Byzantine in form and feeling. It is obviously the product of the country, not of the capital, but may have been sculptured at Tivoli, where there seems to have been an important school of artists. The representation itself is remarkable, if not unique, and is probably symbolical of the religious devotion of women; perhaps a woman was the donor. From Castel Chiodato one can take a charming walk of about four miles to Monterotondo, passing by the *Macchia Gatta Ceca*.

After the turning to Castel Chiodato the road to Palombara turns to the right and runs to the north of the Montes Corniculani. The road is extremely uneven and there are some very steep gradients. The view of Palombara nestling round the castle on the top of its hill is very picturesque. After a few miles we join the road from Tivoli at the foot of the hill, then turn to the left, and to the left again, and rise up a very steep road into Palombara Sabina.

PALOMBARA is beautifully situated on a spur of Monte Gennaro (3,900 feet), the loftiest of the mountains round Rome, which can easily be climbed in three or four hours

from Palombara, and the descent can be made on the other side to Roccagiovane. In the village itself there are no remains of classical antiquity, and even the most imaginative archaeologists have refrained from situating here one of the lost cities of Latium. During the Middle Ages it was the chief stronghold of the Savelli, and the Church of S. Biagio, which was founded, according to an inscription, in 1101 by Paschal II and was built by an architect called Iohannes Blasius, was restored by Honorius III (Savelli) and contains many of the family tombs. In the autumn of 1178 it was the head-quarters of an antipope, Lando da Sezze, who had been raised by the barons of the Campagna against Alexander III and who called himself Innocent III. But the Savelli sold him for a lump sum to Alexander and he was immured in a monastery. It was frequently a bone of contention between the Orsini, the Savelli, and the Papacy till in 1637 it was sold to the Borghese. The picturesque castle now belongs to the Torlonia. The chief attraction is the Church of S. Giovanni in Argentella, one of the most interesting in the Roman province. The visitor should ask the priest in the church by the castle for the keys and get a boy to show the way. It is possible to go in a car for a considerable way along a narrow track that leads to Montecelio. On reaching a little shrine one descends by a very steep and stony path to the deserted church, beautifully situated in the very wild valley.

It is a fine example of a basilica of the twelfth century, blending some specially Roman features, such as the use of ancient marbles and polychrome decoration, with the Romanesque style of construction and architectural decoration that had come to Rome from the North. It is probably built on the site of a much earlier church, while the ancient marbles used in the construction, especially the columns of the campanile, were taken from the ruins of some neighbouring villa. In front of the church is an atrium with rough travertine pilasters supporting cross vaults; a well-preserved Cosmatesque architrave, probably from the main iconostasis of the church, has been used for one of the steps. The severe simplicity of the interior is



S. GIOVANNI IN ARGENTELLA: THE ICONOSTASIS (p. 275)



impressive. It is divided into a nave and aisles, each with its own apse, by four pilasters and eight antique Ionic columns. Two of the capitals are, however, mediaeval copies of the others. Among the other classical remains one should notice two large sarcophagi, one of which bears a relief of two lions devouring lambs. The ciborium over the high altar is of great interest and follows the oldest type, four semicircular arches supporting a pyramidal roof. The upper portion is of stucco and was originally all decorated in relief, a technique that was probably derived from Carolingian and Lombard artists. The chapel at the end of the right aisle preserves its beautiful marble screen with the columns and trabeation of the iconostasis that supported curtains. It is extremely rare to find them in such a perfect state of preservation; the columns of the one in S. Maria in Cosmedin in Rome, for example, are a modern restoration. The dedicatory inscription on the architrave states that it was given by Girardus Clericus in 1170. On the right wall of the nave are some interesting frescoes of the thirteenth century illustrating one of the best-known episodes in the life of S. Bernard of Clairvaux. In 1130 William, Duke of Aquitaine, marched against the abbey, then under the rule of S. Bernard, meaning to plunder and destroy it. But the saint displayed the Host before the invading army, whereupon all the horses knelt down, proving once again the well-known superiority of beast over man. The miracle converted the duke, who, after founding some 160 Cistercian monasteries, became a monk himself in 1153. In one of the pictures we see the Duke setting out at the head of his army. In the other S. Bernard with the Host in his hands, while in front of him the duke has fallen from his horse. While of no great artistic merit these frescoes are of great interest as showing the local art of these small centres and also as illustrating details of costume and armour.

Returning to Palombara we can explore the slopes of Monte Gennaro, which are covered with ancient remains. The most interesting are near the ruins of an ancient castle, called Castiglione, or Palombara Vecchia, which are reached by a path from the high-road a little to the north

of Palombara. A series of terraces are supported by walls of polygonal masonry and are one of the most perplexing enigmas in the Campagna ; others, almost exactly similar, exist above the Abbey of Valvisciolo in the Pontine marshes. At first they were thought to be roads, which they are certainly not, while the theory that they are the remains of prehistoric towns is attractive (it would explain most conveniently a number of awkward problems) but not very convincing. The most probable theory on the whole is that they are merely terraces for cultivation. No one who has lived in Italy or Greece would be surprised that people should undertake such vast works in order to obtain a little more soil for cultivation. Other terraces, certainly belonging to a very large villa, exist under the ruins of the Basilian Convent of S. Nicola, on the path from Palombara to Monte Gennaro.

One can continue the high-road to the north and, passing the uninteresting villages of Moricone and Monte Libretti, reach the Via Salaria at Passo Corese (see p. 286) ; this route is especially attractive towards sunset. Or one can go south to the Via Tiburtina or Tivoli through a district exceptionally rich in ancient remains. Leaving Palombara behind us, we first pass the Convento di S. Francesco on our right, and, farther on, considerable remains of mediaeval castles, which surrounded Palombara like a chain of redoubts. The whole district on either side of the road is covered with a number of ancient villa platforms in all styles of masonry, including ' cyclopean '. The first road on the right leads to the Via Tiburtina just beyond Bagni and passes by the aviation grounds. The small hills all round the ground, especially those to the west abound in remains of villas and reservoirs, some of which are extraordinarily imposing. The easiest way of visiting them is to walk from the Casale Battista at the point where the road crosses the railway line, taking a path to the south-west (that is to say, to the right of anyone coming from Rome). The path runs along the lower slopes of the low hills, the Colle S. Antonio, the Colle Vitriano, and the Colle Nocelle, all three with very extensive remains of villa platforms. The path follows more or less the line of

the ancient road that connected them with the Via Tiburtina, which we reach, passing below the villa of Quintilius Varus and over the Ponte dell' Acquoria. From Casale Battista to the Via Tiburtina the distance by the path is not more than four miles, but it can be increased by the exploration of the ancient remains. This excursion can be easily made, even without a car, by taking the morning tram to the Villa Adriana station and returning to Rome by one of the many trains that stop at the station of Montecelio, but in this way, of course, the road is a couple of miles longer.

The high-road from Palombara to Tivoli, after the fork we have just mentioned, continues for a short distance with numerous remains of villas on its left and comes to a few scattered houses. A road on the left leads to the small village of MARCELLINA, especially famous for its figs. Here the Church of S. Maria delle Grazie contains some interesting but badly preserved frescoes of the Roman school of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries. The paintings on the left wall are very confused; the figure of a man hanging head downwards would seem to indicate that scenes of martyrdom were represented. On the other side of the church we see two men kneeling before the Virgin; one of them is perhaps supposed to represent Octavian, Count of Palombara, who, in 1111, restored the church to the Benedictines. A panel in the church represents the Madonna in the usual Byzantine attitude; it appears to be of the thirteenth century, but has been much repainted. The church itself has suffered many alterations, and in the sixteenth century its orientation was reversed; the present entrance thus corresponds to the original apse. A road leads from Marcellina up the slopes of the hill to the village of S. POLO DEI CAVALIERI. Its name perpetuates the fact that it was founded in the twelfth century by the monks of S. Paolo. The second part is derived from a tradition that two French knights lived here for a time and S. Paolo (pronounced *Paul*) became and has remained Polo. The fine castle now belongs to the Theodoli. From S. Polo a road descends on the other side of the hill to the Via Valeria.

The road from Palombara, to which we must now return,

runs due south from Marcellina, and, just before crossing the railway line, passes to the left of the Colle Cigliano, which is also crowned by a large villa platform. It soon crosses the railway line again just below the Palombara railway station and, passing to the right of a large villa platform, continues up the side of Monte Sterparo, keeping more or less on the same line as the railway. The road is certainly an ancient one, and all along its course we find remains of antiquity. We soon reach the Madonna di Quintiliolo (p. 241) and Tivoli.

CHAPTER XIII

THE VIA SALARIA

Quam magni fueris integra, fracta doces !

—HILDEBERT OF TOURS

THE Via Salaria is certainly one of the oldest roads in Latium, and indeed is probably older than Rome itself, since it follows a natural line of communication along the banks of the Tiber. It was called Salaria because it was the route used by the Sabines to bring salt from the marshes at the mouth of the river, and it would thus have incorporated most of the later Via Ostiensis, forming a direct road from the Sabine country to the sea. The Sabine towns along the road were naturally in a state of constant warfare with the newer Latino-Sabine settlements of Rome, which, in the earliest times at least, seem to have prospered chiefly by a system of highway robbery. The abduction of the women of some rich Sabine caravan may well be the real foundation for the charming story of the Rape of the Sabines, who are even now distinguished by their good looks. But this chronic guerrilla warfare can never have done more than inconvenience the regular traffic along the road, even as similar conditions on the North-west Frontier of India do not seriously interfere with trade across the border. In later times it must have been of great importance, even as to-day, in linking up the capital to the very fertile agricultural districts of Reate (Rieti) and Umbria. Though it can boast of no very striking remains of antiquity along its course, the great beauty of the scenery, the unspoilt picturesqueness of the villages, and the memories of classical and mediaeval history render it one of the most delightful of the roads.

It is a portion of country admirably suited to spring picnics, while, during the heat of the summer, a bathe in the cold waters of the Farfa at Ponte Sfondato will be found very pleasant. The bridges over the Tiber allow the return to be made by another route ; thus one can

see the site of Fidenae and, passing on to the Via Flaminia, visit the villa of Livia at Prima Porta. A pleasant drive of little more than an hour is to the second bridge just after the road to Monterotondo, which allows one to return to Rome by the Via Tiberina. But the two chief excursions are those to Farfa and to Vescovio. Both should be given a full day, and lunch should be taken, including wine and glasses. One should go direct to Fara Sabina, which is reached easily in an hour and a half or less; after enjoying the view one should descend and visit the Abbey of Farfa. One can either eat one's lunch at the abbey or find a nice spot on the banks of the Farfa. After lunch drive to Poggio Mirteto, cross the Tiber by the bridge at the railway station of that village, and return to Rome by the Via Tiberina. The excursion to Cantalupo and Vescovio is somewhat longer. Cantalupo can be reached in about one and a quarter to one and a half hours and the Camuccini Palace can be visited at once. From Cantalupo to Vescovio, despite the numerous shorter roads shown on the maps, motorists must either return to the bridge over the Galantina and reach Vescovio via Stimigliano; or continue along the Salaria to Torri; the other roads via Forano and Selci are impossible. After lunching at Vescovio one can return to Rome either by the same route or else go to the Ponte Felice and return by Civita Castellana and the Via Flaminia; this latter route, is, however, considerably longer. It is possible, by means of an early start, to do both excursions in a day, visiting Farfa in the morning, going on to Cantalupo and via Torri, to Vescovio.

The first part of the Via Salaria has suffered more than most of the great roads from recent building activity. It originally left the Servian wall by the Porta Collina, remains of which were found under the corner of the Finance Ministry; its course to the gate in the Aurelian wall is more or less marked by the modern Via Piave. The space between the Servian walls and Via Po was the scene of the terrible battle which ended the Sullan civil wars. On November 1st, 82 B.C., the Samnite army, having failed in

all attempts to relieve Praeneste, marched in despair against Rome, fully determined to destroy it utterly even if they had to perish in its flames. Fortunately Sulla marched in all haste to save the capital, and, arriving there about midday, gave battle at once without even giving his exhausted troops time to rest, so desperate was the danger. The fight continued till the next morning and at last ended in Sulla's complete victory.

The great breach in the Aurelian walls by which the road now leaves the city marks the site of the Porta Salaria, the gate by which Alaric entered the city on August 24th, 410, 'when at the hour of midnight, the Salarian gate was silently opened, and the inhabitants were awakened by the tremendous sound of the Gothic trumpet'. This gate, built by Aurelian and restored by Honorius, had two semicircular towers and was seriously damaged by the bombardment of 1870. It was therefore removed and a new gate with three passage-ways substituted, which in its turn has now been removed for the convenience of traffic. The towers flanking the ancient gate were founded on some tombs the remains of which have now been moved to either side of the gap in the walls. The one on the right is the monument to the boy Q. Sulpicius Maximus (the original altar is in the Conservatori Museum), an odious infant prodigy who, in A.D. 94, won a prize at the Capitoline Games with an extempore Greek poem on the wrath of Zeus with Apollo for lending his chariot to Phaeton. Fortunately for every one he died from overwork at the age of eleven and a half!

The district immediately outside the walls was one of the largest and most popular cemeteries for the lower classes and for the soldiers of the Praetorian Guard. The development of this area as an important residential quarter has removed almost all remains of antiquity and rendered even the line of the ancient roads unrecognizable. Almost at once on the right we come to the entrance of the beautiful but practically inaccessible Villa Albani built in 1750 by Cardinal Alessandro Albani, the friend of Winckelmann. It still contains an extensive and very valuable collection of ancient sculpture. A little farther on, to the left of the

road, an iron fence protects the front of the only large tomb in the district, the round mausoleum of Lucilia Polla and her brother Lucilius Paetus. It consists of a circular travertine base, 110 feet in diameter, with the inscription on the side towards the road. The upper portion was probably just a conical mound of earth. The sepulchral chamber is inside the podium and was perhaps utilized for Christian burials in the fourth century, when the level of the ground appears to have greatly risen.

The Salaria now crosses the modern Via Po, turns to the right through an entirely new quarter, and crosses the Viale Parioli. All this area, till a few years ago, was still open country with fine villas on either side ; it is now being entirely built over. To the left is the Villa Grazioli-Lante, and after it begins the extensive park of Villa Ada or Villa Savoia, the favourite residence of the Royal Family. Some distance after the entrance to Villa Savoia the road turns to the left and descends abruptly towards the Anio. The lane, which continues in a straight line, leads to the Villa Chigi with a beautiful Renaissance garden, and avenues and groves of ilex, but the wonderful view has recently been much spoilt by the construction of the Città Giardino Aniene.

At the corner where the road turns, a door in the wall of the enclosure of the royal villa gives access to the interesting and important catacombs of Priscilla (permission to visit them must be first obtained from the Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, Palazzo del Vicariato in Piazza della Pigna). It is one of the oldest in Rome and is called after S. Priscilla, traditionally the mother of Senator Pudens, S. Peter's host in Rome. It is partly built in a disused quarry and some portions are very regular and impressive. Many inscriptions and frescoes are of the greatest importance, particularly one with the earliest representation of the Virgin with the Child in her arms ; to the left Isaiah points to the star in the sky. The cemetery is connected with the burial crypt of the famous Roman family of the Acilii Glabriones, who appear to have been among the first members of the Roman aristocracy to embrace Christianity.

The cutting by which the Salaria now descends to the Anio is ancient but has been extensively enlarged in modern times. At the bottom it turns to the right, leaving a green hill, crowned by the earthworks of a useless fort on the left. This hill is the site of the ancient town or village of ANTEMNAE, so called because it stood '*ante amnem*' at the junction of the Anio and the Tiber. It is said to have joined with Caenina and Crustumium to avenge the rape of the Sabine women and to have been conquered by Romulus, who deported a part of the inhabitants to Rome while a Roman colony was sent to take its place. Its decadence seems to have been very rapid, and in historic times it is mentioned among the cities which had disappeared. During the battle at the Porta Collina the left wing of the Samnites, defeated and pursued by Crassus, took refuge in Antemnae, which is spoken of as though its fortifications still existed. The fugitives next day surrendered to Sulla and were later put to the sword. Alaric occupied it in A.D. 409 during his operations against Rome. During the construction of the fort many remains of the city were found, and it offers an interesting parallel to the similar and almost contemporary settlement on the Palatine. It was surrounded by walls of capellaccio, with three or four gates, while the water supply was ensured by the construction of several deep wells and cisterns. At the beginning of the Empire it seems to have become private property, as is suggested by Strabo, and the north corner was occupied by a villa. No remains of antiquity are now visible on the site and it is not accessible to the public.

The bridge by which we now cross the Anio has had a most chequered history. It was one of the bridges which were cut by Totila when he withdrew from Rome and was restored in 565 by Narses, who added a parapet with pilasters decorated with Greek crosses and two commemorative inscriptions. This bridge was destroyed in 1798 by the Neapolitan troops retreating before the French, and the inscriptions were thrown into the river. It was again cut in 1849 by the French during their advance on Rome, and in 1867 it was blown up in the panic caused by

Garibaldi's capture of Monterotondo. After such vicissitudes it is no wonder that only scanty traces of the ancient construction now remain in the smaller arches.

To the left, just beyond the bridge, is a large square tomb of concrete with a mediaeval tower above it. The road on the right leads along the banks of the Anio to the Città Giardino Aniene. We soon reach on the left the buildings of the new commercial aerodrome. The ancient road probably kept a little nearer the hills, more or less on the line of the railway. Soon after the aerodrome we pass a pink building on the right, which is the Villa Spada. In the cliff below and beyond it, on the other side of the railway line, are some interesting rock-cut tombs, one of which bears the inscription of a certain Tiberius Apronius Apollonius. This was probably the site of the Roman village and posting station of FIDENAE which took the place of the far more famous city of the same name. In A.D. 27 a temporary wooden amphitheatre, which had been erected for some local fair, collapsed and Tacitus says that some 50,000 people were killed or injured, a figure which is certainly a great exaggeration even if most of the spectators had come from Rome. It was probably erected on the flat ground near the aerodrome.

A little farther on we come to the site of the ancient city of Fidenae, in early times the most important town on the Salaria, since it commanded not only the road, which actually passed through the city, but also the very important trade route from Veii to Gabii and Praeneste, which probably crossed the Tiber on a ferry. The hill to the left of the road, crowned by a mediaeval farm-house, was certainly the acropolis and closely resembles in appearance and extent the contemporary settlements on the Palatine and at Antemnae. Its mediaeval and modern name, CASTEL GIUBILEO, does not derive, as is often stated, from the fact that it was bought by the Basilica of S. Peter with the moneys obtained through the first Jubilee, but from the name of a family which owned it. The city probably extended over the high ground to the right of the road and numerous rock-cut tombs can still be seen all along the tufa cliffs.

Just before reaching the hill a road on the left leads across the Tiber to the Flaminian Way. After Castel Giubileo, the first large farm-house on the right is the Casale di Sette Bagni, near which are numerous remains of villas and cisterns. Near the station of Sette Bagni a considerable village has grown up in recent years through the founding of a large brick-field. In this connexion it is interesting to note that the kilns of the Via Salaria were of considerable importance in Roman times. After the station the road turns to the right under the hill crowned by the mediaeval farm-house called the Marcigliana.

The narrow plain between this hill and the river is the probable site of the famous battle of the Allia, where, in 390 B.C., a Gallic host of some 30,000 men utterly defeated a Roman army of perhaps half that number and captured the city. The name of the battle is that of a small stream which we cross a mile or so farther on. The position taken up by the Roman army in front of the narrow neck between the river and the hills was one which was intended to neutralize as far as possible the great numerical superiority of the Gauls, but which was extremely dangerous in case of a reverse, since there was no easy line of retreat. The heavy infantry, some 6,000 strong, were drawn up in six ranks, with cavalry and light infantry in front and on the wings; the heights of the Marcigliana were held by the forces of the allies. The Gauls crossed the stream and, driving back the Roman mobile troops, engaged the phalanx. In the meanwhile a very strong Gaulish body attacked the reserves on the hill, defeated them, and so turned the Roman right wing. Thus the whole Roman army found itself shut in between the enemy and the river; the battle turned into a massacre and only those who were able to swim across the river to Veii escaped.

For five or six kilometres after the Marcigliana the road passes no objects of particular interest, but the views of the Tiber valley are always fine. At about the site of the ancient fourteenth milestone from Rome we come to the junction of the road to Monterotondo and Mentana (see the Via Nomentana). A couple of miles farther on another bridge crosses the Tiber and leads to the Via Tiberina. The

hills now come very close to the bed of the river and the course of the ancient road becomes much more uncertain. Although the line of the road which leads directly to Terni and is now called the Via Salaria is probably ancient, the Roman Via Salaria left the Tiber valley and proceeded to Rieti, more or less on the line of the road now known as the Via Quinzia Reatina. The high ground on the right of the road beyond the Cantoniera di Casa Cotta, just before the twenty-eighth kilometre stone is probably the site of Eretum, a city which appears to have been of considerable importance in early times but which under the Empire was merely a small village round the posting station. At present there are scarcely any remains of antiquity on the site, which probably marks the point where the old Via Salaria left the Tiber valley.

The modern road continues to PASSO CORESE on the Corese torrent, which marked the boundary between Latium and Umbria and was from 1860 to 1870 the frontier of the Papal States. It is a modern hamlet which is rapidly increasing in size since it is an important road centre. Just before reaching the village a road on the right leads past the uninteresting villages of Monte Libretti and Moricone to Palombara (see p. 276), whence one can continue on to Tivoli or return to Rome by way of Mentana.

Immediately after crossing the Fosso Corese, and just before the railway station of Fara Sabina, another important road branches off to the right. After about a mile this road again divides; the branch to the right is the present high-road to Rieti, the Via Quinzia Reatina, which has taken the place of the second part of the ancient Via Salaria, and its course is fairly rich in ancient remains, especially of villas. Just before the thirty-seventh kilometre stone at the Grotta Volpe to the right of the road is a large cistern of Imperial date, while a little farther on, at the Grotta S. Andrea, on a hill to the left, is a large villa platform of masonry and concrete. Then a road to the left goes to the modern village of Corese whence a path leads in a couple of miles to the Church of S. Maria degli Arci on a hill over the Fosso Corese. It was probably the acropolis of the famous city of Cures (whence the modern names

Corese), the birthplace of Titus Tatius, the contemporary and rival of Romulus, who founded the Sabine settlement on the Quirinal, and of Numa Pompilius. In the time of Augustus it is mentioned as an important place, but excavations conducted here have shown that it seems, like many other places, to have recovered much of its prosperity during the second century A.D. No ancient remains of any importance are now visible on the site. After the road to Corese the Quinzia Reatina follows more closely the line of the old Salaria; branch roads lead to the villages of Canneto on the left and of Montelibretti (p. 276), Nerola, and Scandriglia on the right. The road again crosses the Fosso Corese and, a little after the road to Scandriglia and the forty-eighth kilometre stone (corresponding to about the twenty-ninth milestone of the Salaria), we come to the Ponte del Diavolo, a great buttressed embankment wall to support the ancient road. It is the most considerable piece of engineering on the Salaria, being over seventy feet long and nearly twenty-four feet high with an opening for a drain in the centre. The road continues, passing by the Church of the Madonna della Quercia and joins the Orvinio-Poggio Mojano-Toffia-Fara Sabina road (see p. 249). The branch on the left leads to Fara Sabina and Farfa, passing by the picturesque village of Toffia.

We must now return to the other branch of the road from the station of Fara Sabina. This follows the right bank of the Fosso Corese, running in a straight line for about four kilometres and then curving to the right. On the hills on the other side of the stream is S. Maria d'Archi on the Acropolis of Cures (see above). Just before the road reaches a small bridge a path to the left leads in about a mile to GROTTA DI TORRI, the most interesting classical ruin in the district, a gigantic villa platform faced with excellent polygonal masonry. It is of great importance in proving that this style of building is not as ancient as is usually believed.

After the hamlet of Coltodino the road begins to ascend the steep hill which is crowned by the village of Fara. It passes over the saddle which separates it from the hill of S. Martino to the north and climbs, in a succession of

hair-pin bends, the steep eastern slope of the hill. The scenery changes completely, but is even more beautiful, the characteristic landscape of the Sabina, a succession of hills and villages separated by well-cultivated land or the brushwood-covered banks of some small stream. The road should be continued right up till it enters, through a gate in the walls, the small square of FARA SABINA, whence one can easily walk to the square in front of the Duomo of S. Antonio Martire.

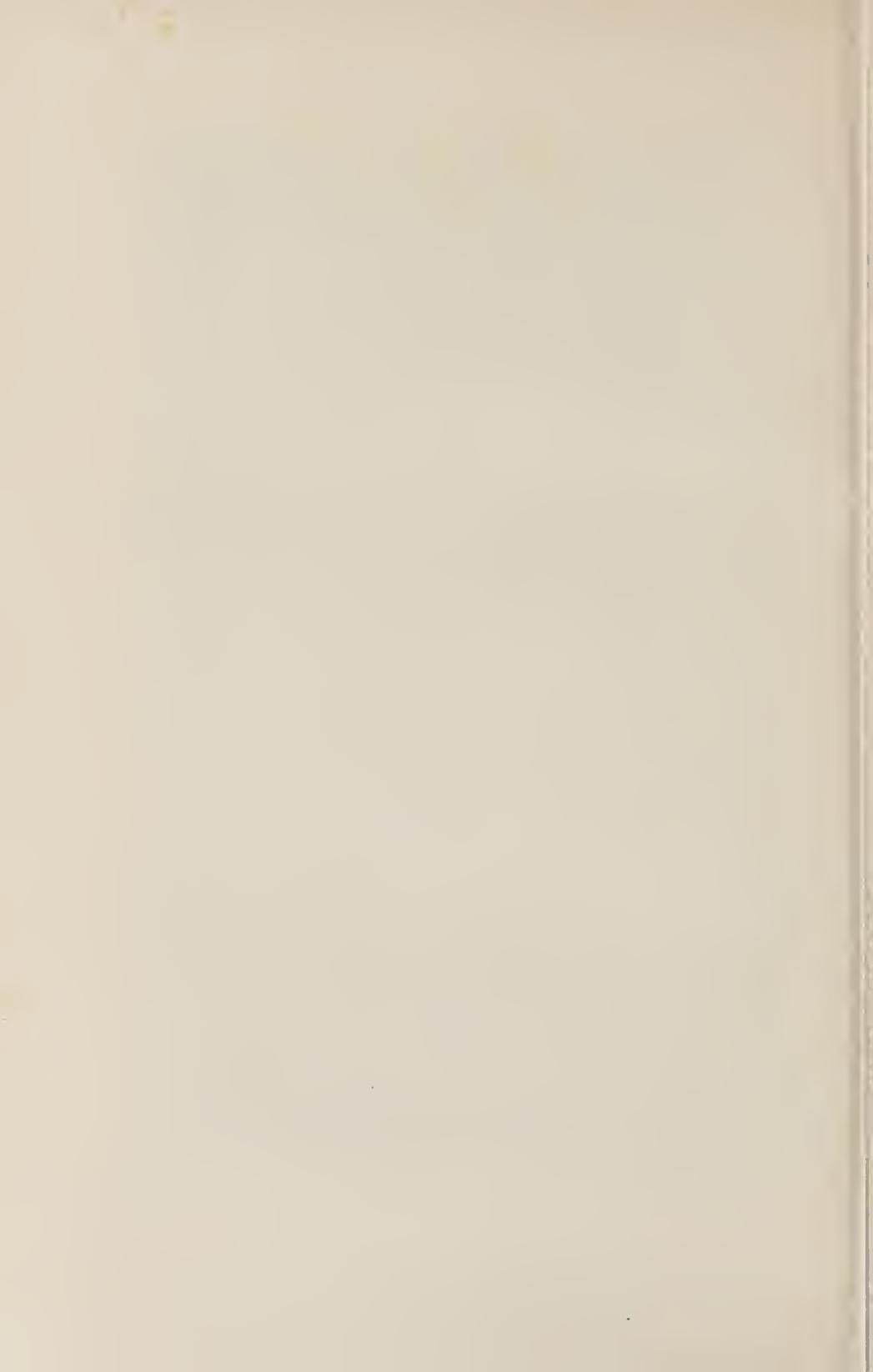
The village contains little of interest, except for a few late Renaissance houses, and the dignified but not very interesting architecture of the Duomo and of the fountain in front of it. But the view from this summit, about 1,500 feet high, is one of the most beautiful in the environs of Rome, being in many ways even finer than those from Monte Cavo and from Soracte. The village itself is of considerable antiquity, having been founded by the Lombards probably in the seventh century to defend the Abbey of Farfa. The name itself is of Lombard origin, *fara* meaning a family or a generation. It belonged to the abbey, but during the eleventh century it appears to have been taken or leased by the Roman family of the Crescenzi, who fought unending lawsuits with the abbots. It later followed the fate of Farfa, became a commandery of the Orsini, and finally passed in complete dominion of the Apostolic Camera.

To visit Farfa we must descend the road we came up by and, just after the cemetery, take the turning to the right which leads to Toffia and the Via Quinzia Reatina. The first turning to the left goes through the wooded slopes of the range on which Farfa stands and in scarcely a mile reaches the hamlet and abbey of FARFA, once the greatest and richest abbey in Italy, now a ruined and modernized church tended by a few monks with some poor houses round it. 'I have put down the mighty from their seat.'

Tradition relates that under the emperor Julian a holy Syrian named Laurence came to Rome with his sister Susanna. He was created bishop and was sent into Sabina, where he overcame a noxious dragon, a picturesque way of saying that he suppressed the lingering pagan



THE IMPERIAL ABBEY OF FARFA



cults. Desirous of leading a holier life, he resigned the episcopal dignity and withdrew to a hermitage on the wooded slopes of the hill Acutianus over the Farfa. Here, on the ruins of a temple probably dedicated to Vacuna, he built a church to the Virgin. His sanctity during life and his holy remains after death increased the fame of the site, which became a monastery known by the name of the torrent. But the history of the saint and his monastery, which is supposed to have been founded under the Emperor Gratian, is entirely legendary. If it ever existed it was certainly destroyed during the Lombard invasion; the history of Farfa really begins with its second foundation at the close of the seventh century by S. Thomas of Maurienne. This Savoyard while praying at the Holy Sepulchre had a vision in which Our Lady ordered him to rebuild her house in the Acutian valley and showed him the ruins of the church by the three lonely cypresses. S. Thomas at once set off for Rome, whence, followed by a few companions, he managed to discover with difficulty the ruins of the long-abandoned monastery and began at once to restore the buildings. The supernatural guidance that had enabled him to discover the spot was now supplemented by more temporal aid. The manners of the Lombards were milder: the Duke of Spoleto, in whose territory it lay, was Faroaldus II, a man of great piety, who not only founded many abbeys but who retired from the world and died a monk in his own abbey of Ferentillo near Terni. He loaded the new abbey with gifts and possessions and, since the Dukes of Spoleto, unlike those of Benevento, were usually on good terms with the Papacy, the church was consecrated by Pope John VI at the beginning of the eighth century.

The new foundation grew rapidly in wealth and influence. Since it was in the territory of the Duke of Spoleto but spiritually in the Sabine suffragan diocese of Rome the abbots often took part in the intrigues between the Papacy and the Lombards that culminated in the Frankish invasion. In 772 Pope Hadrian I sent the abbot and twenty monks to King Desiderius at Otricoli to implore him not to move against Rome. The next year Charlemagne invaded Italy

and put an end for ever to the Lombard kingdom and its dependent duchies. As successor of the Lombards the Frankish king became the protector of the abbey, and as Roman Emperor in 803 he confirmed and increased its privileges and immunities. In 815 the Emperor Lewis granted a new charter in which he placed it under his direct patronage in order that the monks might pray for him and for the stability of the Empire. Its legal immunities were even greater than its vast temporal possessions. It was completely freed from the control of any bishop, who was forbidden to levy any tribute or contribution from the monastery; the abbot was elected by the monks alone and the Pope enjoyed the empty privilege of consecrating him, for the emperor seems to have been able to free him from the annual tribute of ten pennies of gold to the Roman bishop. Thus the policy or the piety of the Frankish emperors had succeeded in founding a powerful institution entirely dependent on themselves at the very gates of Rome. For another four centuries the Abbey of Farfa is the great stronghold of the Imperial power in central Italy, the fortress that could control and check the power of the Papacy.

The popes naturally distrusted the power and coveted the possessions of the abbey, and soon began to make encroachments on its territories, but were forced to make restitution when the Emperor Lothair came to Rome in 823. The monks brought an action against the Apostolic Camera and won their case, defeating the papal plea that Farfa was temporally and juridically subject to the Holy See. By the end of the ninth century the abbey had become, together with the other Lombard abbey of Nonantola near Modena, the richest and most beautiful in Italy. The principal church, its façade flanked by two lofty towers as it is still represented in the arms of the abbey, was surrounded by five other churches; colonnades linked the various monastic buildings together; a handsome palace was ever ready to receive the Imperial patron, and a lofty wall with towers and gates rendered its appearance similar to that of a large town. Its possessions, as we read them to-day in six closely written pages of the

Registrum Farfense, seem incredible. It owned vast tracts of land not only in the Sabine country but in the march of Fermo, in Umbria, and Tuscia, on the coast at Civitavecchia, in the Abruzzi, and in Rome itself. These scattered possessions were partly administered directly, partly leased to the barons of the district, who thus became the vassals of the abbey. We even hear of its ships, which were exempt from all taxes and port dues.

But during the ninth century a new plague, the Saracens, began to ravage Italy. In 890 a powerful Saracen force moved against the abbey. For seven years the heroic Abbot Peter defended it against the infidel, but finally decided to give up the unequal struggle. He divided the treasures of the abbey, sending part to Rome, part to Rieti, and part to Fermo; weeping, he broke the ciborium, the most beautiful ornament of the high altar, and buried the columns of precious onyx, and followed by six hundred monks withdrew to his possessions in the March of Fermo, where he built another church, now known as S. Vittoria in Matenano, some remains of which still exist. The Saracens made the abbey buildings their headquarters, but seem not to have injured them; it was left for Christian brigands and treasure-hunters to burn Farfa to the ground after the Saracens retired.

Some thirty years later Peter's successor, the Abbot Rofredus, returned to Farfa and rebuilt the abbey, which, however, was unable to regain its former importance. The universal barbarism and immorality of the tenth century can nowhere be better observed than at Farfa. In 936 Abbot Rofredus was poisoned by two monks, Campo and Hildebrand, the former of whom had been the abbot's favourite pupil in the sciences of medicine and grammar. The fate of the abbot is an eloquent proof of his disciple's medical knowledge, but the last words of the Abbot, '*Campigenas Campo, male quam me campigenasti!*' scarcely qualify him as a professor of grammar—indeed, if they are a specimen of his usual wit, go far to lessen the horror with which one views his fate.

Campo became abbot, but in two years' time fell out with his accomplice Hildebrand, who, proclaiming himself

abbot, took possession of the properties of the abbey in the Marches and established himself at S. Vittoria, which during one of his orgies was burnt to the ground. Campo at Farfa continued a life scandalous even to his contemporaries. He 'married' a woman called Liuzia by whom he had ten children, and the monks naturally followed their superior's example. At that time the Imperial throne was vacant and Alberic, the real ruler of Rome, claimed the overlordship of Farfa. His friend, S. Odo of Cluny, shocked by the state of the abbey, sent some monks to reform it, but they fled in terror almost at once since they had nearly been stabbed while asleep. Then Alberic took up arms in person, moved with an army against the abbey, expelled Campo and created Dagobert of Cuma abbot in 947, who attempted to introduce the reform of Cluny. But after five years he was removed by poison and the monks were able to continue their favourite life.

Things now went from bad to worse. A great deal of the property of the abbey had been lost either by foreign aggression or by domestic corruption. The Emperor Otho I deposed the reigning Abbot John and appointed another, but his intervention only made matters worse, for, on the emperor's death, there were again two rival abbots, ruling in the Sabina and in the Marches. The rise of the Crescenzi in Rome was very dangerous to the abbey, since this family was of Sabine origin and seized a large portion of its estates. Otho III managed at last to bring some order into the place by confirming in 998 the simoniacal election of the Abbot Hugo, who proved himself to be a man of very considerable ability. He introduced the rule of Cluny and thus reformed the morals of the monks, at least to a certain extent. A man of considerable culture for those times, he wrote many useful works, dealing especially with the history of the abbey, and was untiring in his efforts to obtain the restitution of all the possessions of the monastery. The forty years of his rule were spent in unending lawsuits, which were still further complicated by the fact that, according to the constitution of the Emperor Lothair, the abbey claimed the right to follow not Roman but Lombard Law, 'the least imperfect

of the barbaric codes'. This contention, sound in law, was extremely awkward in practice, since it was almost impossible at that time to find any judges who knew it.

During the eleventh century the abbey remained faithful to the Imperial cause, but continued its litigation, to further which Gregory of Catino compiled in the years 1092-1099 the famous *Registrum of Farfa*, a complete copy and index of all the legal documents, the Imperial rescripts, the papal Bulls, the various privileges, the title-deeds that were in the Farfa archives, and supplemented it with a *Chronicle* of the Abbey itself. The *Registrum* and the *Chronicle* are among the most precious mediaeval documents in existence, and shed a wonderful light on the laws and customs of the darkest portion of the Middle Ages.

But with the reformation of the Papacy and the decadence of the Swabian dynasty the fortunes of the abbey began to set, and in 1125 it had to admit the papal supremacy; a long period of depression then set in. It was gradually abandoned by the monks, and at last, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, it was turned into an abbey *in commendam*, held from 1421 to 1553 by the Orsini and subsequently by other Roman families till in 1796 the Cardinal Bishop of Sabina was created *ex officio* Titular Abbot of Farfa, an arrangement which subsists at present.

Little now remains of its former magnificence. The original church was probably a circular building with a number of chapels radiating from it like the Cathedral of Aachen. This venerable building was destroyed towards the end of the sixteenth century by the Cardinal Orsini, who built a new one with the ancient materials but on a different orientation. In the last few years the industry of the Benedictine monks has discovered considerable traces of the older church, and, with the help of the Government, a general restoration will be undertaken to discover and preserve all the existing remains of the older church.

From the road a late romanesque portal, probably belonging to the older church, leads into a large court, in front of the later building. The church has a fine late Gothic doorway surmounted by the arms of the Cardinal

Orsini and a lunette with a fresco of Umbrian school. A few Romanesque lions and other decorative fragments are also incorporated in the façade. To the left is the convent garden, with considerable remains of the ancient conventual buildings. Also to the left of the church is the entrance to the modern monastery, where we inquire for a monk to show us round. The church itself is handsome with columns from the earlier building. Over the entrance is a large fresco of the Last Judgment, Flemish school of the end of the sixteenth century. The frescoes of popes and benefactors of the abbey are even later; a painting of the Crucifixion in the first chapel to the right is perhaps by Vandyke. In the pavement in front of the high altar are numerous pieces of the ancient one in fine *opus sectile* and numerous fine slabs of the Cosmatesque ambo signed by Magister Rainaldus, which it is proposed to reconstruct. The *macchina* above the altar contains fragments of an ancient Byzantine painting on wood, the heads of the Madonna, of Christ, and of two angels. They are supposed to be from the image brought by S. Thomas of Maurienne but appear to be somewhat later. The choir is handsome and dignified. From the choir the guide leads us to the sacristy, beyond which excavation in the ancient tower has revealed an early chapel with scanty traces of paintings and remains of a Roman villa over which the church was evidently built. Traces of the pavement of the early church have also been found under the sacristy.

We return to the choir and pass into the monastery to see the newest discoveries. A stair leads in front of the tower on which was painted a sundial. This tower is the oldest part of the building, since it shows many traces of having been injured by fire, probably the fire after the Saracen invasion. We now enter the former apartment of the abbot which was constructed in the upper portion of a square apse or choir that closed the church on one side. Considerable remains of it have been found. The first part we see is an archway that communicated with the body of the church; in order to lighten the wall two smaller arches were built above it. The principal arch was strengthened by a second one, probably in the fifteenth

century. On the side walls we see two layers of fresco, the earliest of the eleventh and the later of the fifteenth century, together with some small windows, and semi-columns of brick. On the end wall was painted the Last Judgment.

We descend to the first cloister, which has been entirely modernized, but a portion of it is being restored to its earlier form, like the one at Subiaco. The larger cloister contains a number of marble fragments from the earlier church.

From the abbey we can return to the Salaria either by the way we came or by continuing the road north. At the first fork we keep to the right and cross at once two branches of the Farfa. We then continue keeping always to the left and eventually reach the Salaria at the Colonna della Memoria. The Salaria itself crosses the Farfa over the Ponte Sfondato, a huge natural bridge cut by the torrent in the soft conglomerate. It is an excellent place for a picnic, and, in June and July, a delightful place in which to bathe. From the Colonna the course of the Salaria is very much more tortuous. The roads to the right lead to the villages on the hills, Poggio Mirteto, Montopoli, Bocchignano, Poggio Catino, all picturesque and beautifully situated. Remains of ancient villas abound in this neighbourhood. We reach the station of Poggio Mirteto, where a road leads across the Tiber to the village of Torrita and the Via Tiberina; the return to Rome on the other bank of the Tiber is rather longer but very picturesque; the road is excellent.

Beyond the station we reach the torrent Galantina, which we cross on a large bridge. Immediately after it a road on the left leads along the valley of the Tiber to Stimigliano and then across the ridge to the valley of the Aja and Vescovio. The Salaria continues rising with a steep gradient and many sharp bends till it reaches the important village of CANTALUPO. The summit of the village is occupied by the church and the great baronial palace. The actual building, as can be seen by going down the lane between the church and the palace, is an old castle of the fifteenth century with towers at the four corners. Guido

Vaini, Prince of Cantalupo, built the magnificent portico and loggia on the square in 1700. It now belongs to Barone Emilio Camuccini, who kindly allows the interior to be shown (ring at the little door to the left of the portico).

The main part of the palace, now no longer inhabited, contains the collections of Vincenzo Camuccini (1771-1844), one of the leading Roman painters of the Neo-classic and Academic schools. During the French domination he was, together with Canova and Valadier, a member of the *Commission pour les embellissements de Rome*. He exercised very great influence on the art of his time both in Rome and in Naples, and his collections, though reflecting both in their choice and in their arrangement the now old-fashioned tendencies of his school, are of great interest. We first examine the rooms on the ground floor with frescoed ceilings by the Zuccari and a collection of relics of the painter. The first room contains large cartoons of some of his best-known compositions, and the next a valuable collection of drawings by famous artists. The collection of autographs and documents in the remaining rooms is very extensive and important. A handsome staircase leads from the entrance portico to the first floor. On the landing and in the portico, which commands a magnificent view to the south-east, with the villages of Catino and Poggio Catino in great evidence, there is a good collection of ancient sculpture. All the rooms on this floor enjoy delightful views over all the surrounding country. They contain an extensive but not very important collection of ancient fragments and a good but badly displayed numismatic collection. Then comes the state bedroom, very much 'in the debased style of the age', as Baedeker would put it; the first time I saw it, it reminded me of the best room at Jawleyford Court with its 'heavy crimson-satin damask furniture, so old as scarcely to be able to support its own weight'. It was occupied by Garibaldi during his campaign of '67, and he must have been even more out of place here than Soapey Sponge, but was perhaps less trying to his host. The adjoining armoury is the finest room in the palace and the collection of arms is very

good, although the finest pieces are in Baron Camuccini's Roman house.

To reach Vescovio by car from Cantalupo we must either retrace the road to the bridge over the Galantina and take the road to Stimigliano, or go straight on by the road to Terni. At the fork immediately outside the village we keep to the left and eventually reach the Ponte Rionasso over the torrent Aja ; on the other side, the road climbs very steeply. We take the first turning to the left, a very sharp turn with a signpost, placed in an even more illegible position than usual, pointing to TORRI IN SABINA. We soon come to the village of this name and cross it, taking the first turning to the left. Though containing little of interest the houses in the upper part are very picturesque. We now descend the valley of the Aja, which in spring is more like England than most parts of Central Italy, and is one of the prettiest valleys in the district. Where it widens a road leads off on the left to the picturesquely situated village of Selci, so called probably from the number of ancient paving-stones from a Roman road which are walled up in the houses. On the outside wall of the church are two curious and very barbaric reliefs, called by the inhabitants Quaresima and Carnevale. Continuing along the road in the valley of the Aja we come very soon after the branch to Selci to a bad track on the right that leads us in a minute to the magnificent isolated Church of S. Maria in Vescovis or VESCOVIO.

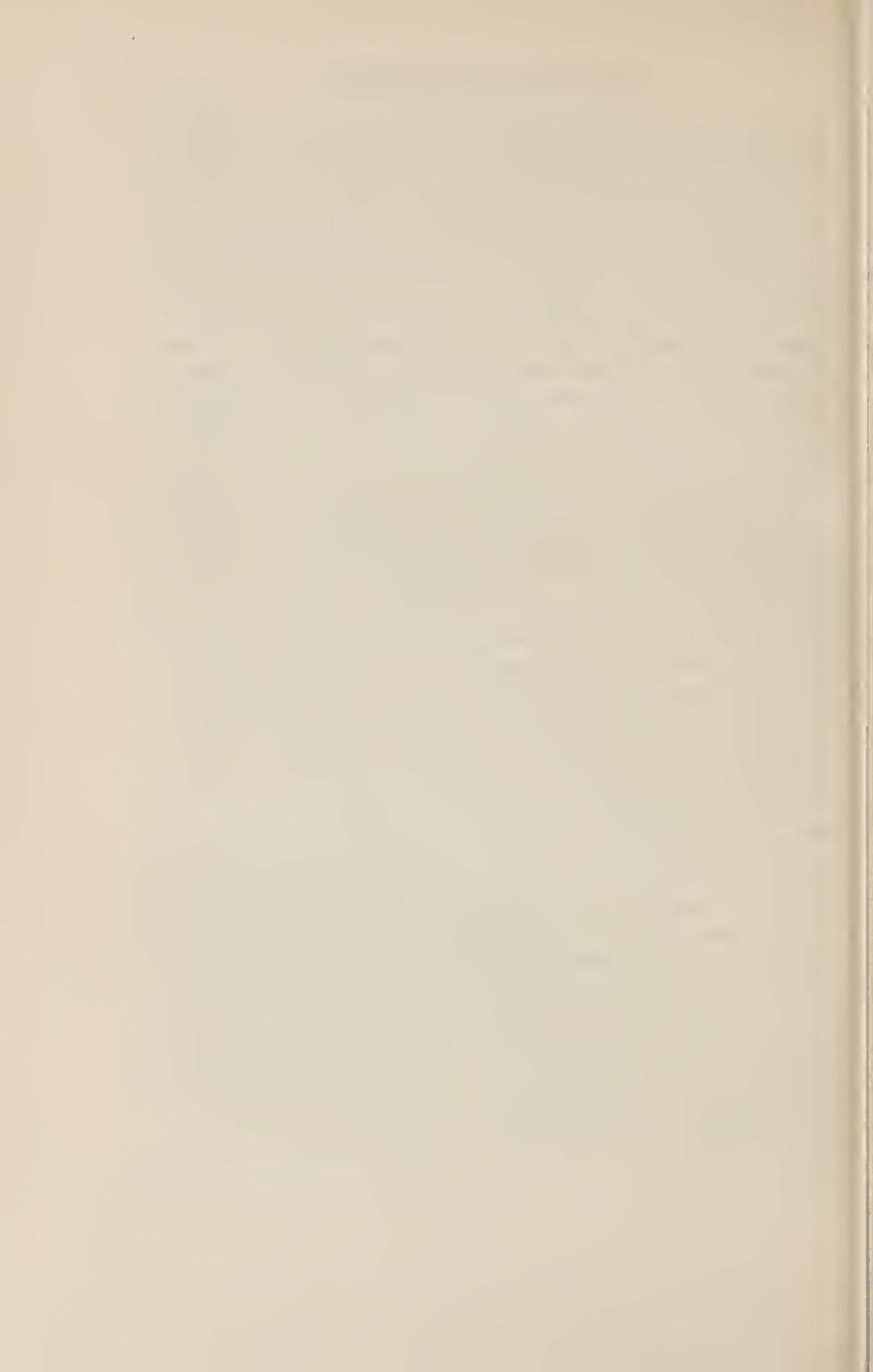
The church, as is mentioned in the inscription over the door, is the Cathedral of the Sabine Diocese, one of the six suburbican sees of Rome, and as such must be of the greatest antiquity. It must have been founded in late Roman times in the city of Forum Novum, which was an important road-centre. Many Roman remains still exist in the district ; in the fields near the church is a large and curious building, the remains of which are too scanty to enable us to identify it without excavation. Behind the church are more remains and, near the entrance to the wood, scanty traces of an aqueduct. The hill which overhangs the church was probably the acropolis and is now occupied by the ruins of an ancient monastery. All along

the banks of the Aja and its tributary that flows by the ancient site are numerous tombs, one of which preserves its covering of masonry to a considerable height, while another, the farthest away from the town, beyond the modern high-road, is near the cutting by which the ancient road descended to the ford or to a ferry. The tombs are curiously out of line, and were therefore either on different roads or else the road itself twisted strangely. Many ancient fragments from the town are walled up in the house next to the church, including part of a fine sarcophagus and a travertine relief with a Roman eagle.

The history of the church itself is rather obscure. As we shall see it was certainly built over an ancient building, some slight traces of which remain in the crypt. The original church was at a slightly lower level than the present one and was probably destroyed during the Saracen invasion that obliged the inhabitants to abandon the site of Forum Novum, not easily defensible, and repair to the mountains. The present building is probably of the eleventh to twelfth century, and was certainly renovated in the thirteenth, when it received its decoration in fresco. The interior consists of a single nave and a transept ; about half-way down the nave two steps descend to a lower level, while the apse and transepts are raised above the crypt. In about 1275 the walls were frescoed by a very rough painter of the Roman school whose affinities with Pietro Cavallini have led M. Van Marle to suppose that he may have been the master of that great artist. They are in a very bad state and have not yet been entirely freed of the coating of whitewash which, however, has not been as injurious as some bad repaintings. On the right wall were scenes from the Old Testament, of which the most interesting are the last four of the lower register nearest the door. They represent Isaac sending Esau out to hunt ; Jacob, with a skin round his neck, presenting his offering and receiving Isaac's blessing ; Esau hunting ; and Esau returning from the chase. The left wall was decorated with scenes from the New Testament which have not yet been entirely cleared of whitewash, while on the entrance wall are considerable remains of the Last Judgment. The

pulpit at the corner of the nave and the left transept is built from the fragments of the ninth century choir screen ; below it is a Roman sarcophagus. The altar probably belongs to the earlier church, and is of ancient type, with a confession below it and facing the people. The front is decorated with a fresco of the Virgin between angels with SS. Peter and John on one side and S. Paul on the other. Below, on either side of the opening of the confession, the same hand has painted two prophets. These frescoes belong to the Benedictine school of Montecassino and are not earlier than 1100. To the left of the altar we see a small portion of the earlier choir screen, and there are many other ancient fragments that have been collected in the transepts.

Leaving the deserted cathedral we return to the high-road and cross the Aja by a modern bridge. Not much farther on a road branches off to the left. If we go straight on we follow the line of an ancient road and eventually reach the Via Flaminia at Ponte Felice, whence we can return to Rome by Civitacastellana. If we take the road to the left we cross the stream and ascend the slopes on the other side through a delightful wood. When we reach the top, at the little chapel of the Madonna della Strada, an extremely bad road, not advisable for motors, leads to the large but uninteresting village of Forano ; another road on the right leads to Stimigliano, a village which commands a magnificent view over this part of the Tiber valley. At the entrance to the village is a fine sixteenth-century Orsinì palace and there are some mediaeval houses within the walls. In the neighbourhood is the Church and ruined Convent of S. Valentino. The high-road leads down from the Madonna della Strada to the Tiber and the railway line at the station of Stimigliano, where it turns south-east. The first turning to the left after the station leads to Forano, the next to Gavignano, a small village partly encircled by mediaeval walls. It then turns into the valley of the Galantina and soon reaches the Salaria at the bridge over that stream.



NOTES

THE following notes do not pretend to be a full bibliography of the Roman Campagna: they merely refer to a few of the most recent and important studies of the various sites. Since the articles quoted give most of the earlier bibliography I have omitted references to such works as Nibby's *Analisi della Carta dei Dintorni di Roma*, 1837, which laid the foundations for the scientific study of the Campagna. I have also omitted references to the sometimes very valuable articles in encyclopedias, such as the *Britannica* (mostly by Ashby), Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-lexicon*, and Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*.

The classical history and monuments of the Campagna have been studied in great detail by Dr. Thomas Ashby, especially in the volumes of the *Papers of the British School at Rome* (cited as *P. B. S.*), and in *The Roman Campagna in Classical Times*, London, 1927 (*R. C.*). The mediaeval and to a certain extent the classical Campagna is treated in the monumental and as yet incomplete work by G. and F. Tomassetti, *La Campagna Romana, Antica, Medioevale e Moderna*, 4 vols, Roma, in progress (abbreviated *C. R.*). A number of important articles, especially by G. Lugli, will be found in the *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale* (*B. A. C.*). The architecture of many of the monuments has been studied by T. Rivoira in *Roman Architecture*, translated by G. McN. Rushforth, Oxford, 1925 (*R. A.*).

CHAPTER I

THE COUNTRY OF VIRGIL

For Ostia itself see Calza's Guide, translated by Miss Weeden Cooke, which contains a full bibliography. For the whole district the best study, though one to be used with a certain caution, is that of Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie*, (Paris, 1919); and see also Ashby, *R. C.*, 205 ff.

For the ruins and the excavations at Castel Fusano and

Castel Porziano see Lanciani in *Monumenti Antichi*, XIII (1903), pp. 133 ff., and XVI (1906), p. 241.

For Ardea itself see Pasqui in *Not. Scavi*. 1900, p. 53 ff.; and Tomassetti, *C. R.*, p. 446 ff.;

For the festival of the Divino Amore and others in the Campagna and the Sabina see Ashby, *Some Italian Scenes and Festivals*, 1929.

For Anzio and Nettuno see bibliography in Tomassetti, *C. R.*, II, pp. 304 ff.

For Satricum and its excavations the most complete bibliography will be found in Della Seta, *Museo di Villa Giulia* (Roma 1918), pp. 233 ff.

CHAPTER II

THE VIA APPIA

General works: See Ashby in *Mélanges*, xxiii (1903), 375. Canina, *La Via Appia*; Ripostelli and Marucchi, *Via Appia* (which does not go beyond the sixth mile); Leoni and Staderini, *Sull' Appia Antica*; Ashby *R. C.*, pp. 174 ff.; Tomassetti, *C. R.*, II *passim*.

For the Catacombs see the standard works by Marucchi and Wilpert. The excavations at S. Sebastiano are responsible for an amazing and ever-increasing torrent of literature; I can only recommend the visitor to glance at Styger's pamphlet on the 'Memoria Apostolorum'.

For the villa of Maxentius see Lugli in *B. A. C.*, LII (1924), pp. 120 ff.

For the tomb of Caecilia Metella see Rivorio, *R. A.*, p. 5.

For the Proprietà Lugari see G. B. Lugari, *Intorno ad alcuni monumenti antichi esistenti al IV Miglio dell' Appia* (1882).

For the portion of road near the Fossae Cluiliae see Pinza, *Not. Scavi*, 1906, p. 338, and *Jahreshefte Oest. Inst.*, 1907, pp. 191 ff.

For the tombs of the Horatii and the Curiatii see Rivoira, *R. A.*, p. 11.

For the villa of the Quintilii see Ashby's full description in *Ausonia*, IV, 25.

Casale Rotondo see Rivoira *R. A.*, p. 10.

THE APPIA NOVA

For the tombs of the Via Latina see E. Wadsworth in *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, IV, pp. 69 ff.; R. Eisler, *Mysteriengedanken*, pp. 123 ff.

For the villa at Le Vignacce see Ashby and Lugli in *Memorie della Pont. Accad. di Archaeologia*, II, 183 ff.

For the antiquities at the Casale di Roma Vecchia see Ashby *P. B. S.*, IV, pp. 85 ff.

For the tomb near the Capannelle see Rivoira, *R. A.*, p. 151.

For the villa of Clodius see Lugli in *B. A. C.*, 1914, 263.

For the Triopos of Herodes Atticus see Lugli in *B. A. C.* 52 (1924), pp. 94 ff.

For the paintings in S. Urbano alla Caffarella see A. Busuioceanu in *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, II (1924), pp. 1 ff.

CHAPTER III

ALBANO AND CASTEL GANDOLFO

The antiquities of Albano and Castel Gandolfo have been very accurately explored and studied by Prof. Giuseppe Lugli of the University of Rome, and, unless otherwise specified, I refer to articles by him. The mediaeval history has been treated by Tomassetti, *C. R.*, ii, pp. 159 ff.

The villa of Pompey in *B. A. C.* (1914), pp. 281; the new excavations in *Not. Scavi*.

The baths will be published with accurate plans and elevations drawn by Gismondi in the forthcoming volume of the *Bull. dell' Istituto Archeologico Italiano*.

The camp and the cistern in *Ausonia*, IX (1919), pp. 211 ff.

The round nymphaeum, now the Church of the Rotonda, in *B. A. C.* (1919), pp. 197 ff., the amphitheatre in *Ausonia*, X (1921), pp. 210 ff.

The buildings in the Barberini Villa and in the neighbourhood in *B. A. C.* (1917), pp. 29 ff.; *B. A. C.* (1918), pp. 3 ff.

The buildings along the shores of the lake in *B. A. C.* (1913), pp. 91 ff, and *B. A. C.* (1919), pp. 162 ff.

For Palazzola see Ashby in *The Venerabile*, I, pp. 289-297, and II, pp. 3-13; Ricci in *Roma*, V (1927), pp. 10-15.

For the mediaeval remains of the Romitorio S. Angelo see *The Venerabile*, II, 231-234. For the villa below Palazzola see Giovannoni in *Ausonia* VII, pp. 198 ff.

CHAPTER IV

ARICCIA, GENZANO, NEMI, AND VELLETRI

For the history of this region see Tomassetti, *C. R.*, II, pp. 230 ff. The classical remains of Aricia have been adequately treated by G. Florescu in *Ephemeris Daco-Romana*, III (1925), pp. 1 ff., whose conclusions must, however, be accepted with reserve.

On the Temple of Diana Nemorensis see L. Morpurgo in *Monumenti Antichi*, XIII (1903), pp. 297 ff. She believes (wrongly perhaps) that there was a real temple. For the ships the best summary of the question is Malfatti, *Le Navi del Lago di Nemi* (Roma 1905). We must await with a certain anxiety the result of the excavations. See the preliminary studies of the committee appointed to examine the question in *Il ricupero delle Navi di Nemi*, Roma, 1927.

For Lanuvio see G. B. Colburn in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1914, pp. 1 ff., 185 ff., 363 ff., which is supplemented by the account of the recent excavations by Bendinelli in *Monumenti Antichi* XXVII (1921), 293. The antiquities now in England have been partly published by Woodward in *P. B. S.*, VII (1914), pp. 63 ff.

For Velletri see A. P. Wagener in *American Journal of Archaeology* (1913), 399: A. Tersenghi, *Velletri*, 1910.

CHAPTER V

THE TOWNS OF THE PONTINE MARSHES

The general topography of the Via Appia has been treated by De la Blanchère in *Melanges* (1888).

The present writer is preparing an archaeological survey of Cori and its district for the *Forma Italiae*. On the Temple of

Hercules one can consult Delbrueck, *Hellenistische Bauten* II, pp. 23 ff.; Giovannoni in *Roem. Mitt.*, 23 (1908), pp. 109 ff.; Goodyear in *American Journal of Archeology* (1907), pp. 160 ff., and in *Greek Refinements*, pp. 47 ff.; A. v. Gerkan in *Roem. Mitt.*, 40 (1925), pp. 167 ff.

For Ninfa see Tomassetti *C. R.*, II, pp. 393 ff.

For Norba see *Not. Scavi* (1901), pp. 514 ff.; (1903) pp. 229 ff.; (1904) pp. 403 ff., 423 ff.; (1909) 241 ff. Also Savignoni in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche* (1903), V, pp. 255 ff.

Monographs on the antiquities of Sezze and Piperno are being prepared by G. Lugli for the *Forma Italiae*; in the meanwhile one can consult for the former, *American Journal of Archaeology* (1910), pp. 318 ff., (1911) *passim*; on the latter *ibid.* (1915) pp. 34 ff., both by H. H. Armstrong.

On Terracina and on the Circeo see Lugli's two exhaustive volumes in the *Forma Italiae*.

CHAPTER VI

FRASCATI AND TUSCULUM

The bibliography of the Tusculan region is enormous; the most recent and complete is that given by Tomassetti, *Campagna Romana*, Vol. IV (Rome 1926). The classical remains of the district have been studied and described by Ashby in *P. B. S.*, IV and V, and by F. Grossi Gondi in several books and monographs, especially *Il Tuscolano nell'Antichità Classica* and *Le Ville Tuscolane*; the works of Seghetti also contain much interesting information; and the volume of S. Kambo, *Il Tuscolo e Frascati*, in the series 'Italia Artistica', has an excellent collection of illustrations, especially of the Renaissance villas. See also Lanciani, *Wanderings* pp. 247 ff.; and Ashby, *R. C.* pp. 153-173.

For the Monte del Grano see Ashby and Lugli in *Mem. Pont. Acc. Arc.*, Vol. II (1928), pp. 179-182.

For Settebassi see Ashby, *P. B. S.*, IV, pp. 97 ff. with plans; *R. C.*, pp. 156 ff.; Rivoira, *R. A.*, pp. 140 ff.

For Centroni see Ashby, *P. B. S.* IV, 120 ff., with plan.

For the catacombs at Villa Senni see Grossi Gondi, *Le Catacombe Tuscolane, Grottaferrata* (1924).

For Frascati and for the mediaeval history of Tusculum see Tomassetti, *op. cit.*, who also reproduces the best recent map of Tusculum. For the classical remains see Ashby and Grossi Gondi.

CHAPTER VII

GROTTAFERRATA AND THE ALBAN MOUNT

An elaborate bibliography of Grottaferrata is given by Tomassetti in *C. R.*, IV, pp. 280 ff. The chief works on the district are those already mentioned for Tusculum, to which might be added S. Kambo, *Grottaferrata e il Monte Cavo*, in the series 'Italia Artistica' of Bergamo, which is well illustrated.

On Rocca di Papa see Corrado Ricci in *Roma*, Vol. IV (1926), pp. 531 ff. and Vol. V, pp. 1 ff.

For the ancient road to Monte Cavo see Lugli in *Mem. Pont. Acc. Arch.*, i, I, 255 ff.

On Marino in general see Tomassetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 173 ff.

CHAPTER VIII

THE VIA LABICANA-CASILINA

For the classical remains of this road see Ashby, *P. B. S.*, I, pp. 215 ff.; *R. C.*, pp. 146 ff. For the mediaeval history see Tomassetti, *C. R.*, III, pp. 385 ff.

For Tor Pignattara see Rivoira, *R. A.*, 230; for the Catacombs Marucchi, *Guide*, p. 239.

For the Imperial villa at Centocelle see Ashby and Lugli in *Mem. Pont. Acc. Arch.*, II, pp. 162 ff.

For the villas on the slopes of the Alban hills above Colonna see also the works referred to under Tusculum.

For Artena and the ruins at Civita see Ashby and Pfeiffer in *Supp. Papers Amer. School*, I (1905), pp. 87 ff. For the Castle of Lariano see Tomassetti, *C. R.*, IV, 546 ff., and plan.

For Segni see Delbrück, *Capitolium von Signia*, 1903.

For Anagni and its cathedral see Sibilia, *La cattedrale di Anagni* (Orvieto 1914). For the frescoes in the crypt see

Toesca in *Gallerie Nazionali Italiane*, V, 116 ff., and *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, especially p. 1033. R. Van Marle in *La peinture Romaine du M Age*, pp. 189 ff., separates the various painters by considerable intervals of time.

CHAPTER IX

THE VIA PRAENESTINA

For the classical history and antiquities of this road see Ashby in *P. B. S.*, pp. 149 ff. and *R. C.*, pp. 128 ff. For the mediaeval see Tomassetti, *C. R.*, III, pp. 460 ff.

For the villa of the Gordians see Lugli, *B. A. C.*, 1915, 136 ff.

For Gabii see Pinza in *Not. Scavi* (1903), pp. 338 ff.; Delbrueck, *Hell. Bauten*, II, pp. 5 ff.

The best study of the Temple at Palestrina, with an excellent reconstruction, is that of Bradshaw in *P. B. S.*, IX (1920), pp. 233 ff., with a full bibliography.

CHAPTER X

THE VIA TIBURTINA

For the classical remains along the road and for the antiquities of the Tivoli district see Ashby, *P. B. S.*, III, pp. 84 ff., of which a revised Italian translation is in *Atti e Memorie della Società Tiburtina di Storia e d'Arte* (1922); and *R. C.*, pp. 93 ff. For the mediaeval history see Tomassetti in *A. S. R.*

For the Porta Tiburtina see Mariani in *B. A. C.*, 1917, 207.

For the Cervara quarries see Tenney Frank, *Roman Buildings*, p. 27; Tomassetti, *C. R.*, I, 315; III, 472.

For Villa Adriana see Winnefeld, *Die Villa des Hadrian* (Berlin 1895); P. Gusman, *La villa Impériale de Tibur* (Paris 1904); R. Lanciani's *La Villa Adriana* (Roma 1906), with the reproduction of Reina's excellent plan. For the remains of the earlier villa see Lugli in *B. A. C.*, 1927, pp. 139 ff.

For recent excavations at the fountain beyond the Pecile and at the smaller baths see *Not. Scavi*, 1922, pp. 234 ff.; and *Mem. Amer. Acad.* in Rome, IV, pp. 103 ff.

For a restored plan of the circular building see *Mem. Amer. Acad.* in Rome, II, Pl. 6; for the comparison with Varro's aviary see Van Buren, *Journ. Rom. Studies*, IX, 66.

For a restored plan of the smaller baths see *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, III, Pl. 66.

For the remains on the Colle S. Stefano see Baddeley, *The Villa of the Vibii Vari*.

For Tivoli see, among other works, A. Rossi, *Tivoli*, 'Italia Artistica', and Pacifici, *Tivoli nel M. Evo*. For the pre-historic excavations see *Not. Scavi*, 1926, 210 ff. and 1927, 215 ff.; for those at the Ponderarium, *Not. Scavi*, 1925, 249 ff.

CHAPTER XI

THE VALLEY OF THE ANIO

For Horace's farm see G. Lugli's elaborate study in *Mon. Ant.*, XXXI (1926), pp. 457 ff. See also Hallam, *Horace at Tibur and the Sabine Farm*, 1927.

For the monasteries at Subiaco see Egidi, Giovannoni and Hermanin in *I Monasteri di Subiaco*, Vol. I (Rome 1904).

CHAPTER XII

THE VIA NONENTANA

For the classical remains see Ashby in *P. B. S.*, III, pp. 38 ff.

For the Sedia del Diavolo and Tor Spuntapiedi see Rivoira, *R. A.*, p. 152.

For S. Giovanni in Argentella see A. Colasanti, *L'Aniene*, 'Italia Artistica'.

CHAPTER XIII

THE VIA SALARIA

The classical remains and history of this road have been fully treated by Ashby in *P. B. S.* III, pp. 7-38, and in *R. M.*

pp. 59-81. For the mediaeval history see Tomassetti in *Archivio*.

For the catacombs of Priscilla see all the standard works.

For Antemnae see Lanciani *Ruins and Excavations*, p. 111.

For Fidenae see Panaitescu in *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, II (1924), pp. 416-459 (in Italian), where there is a complete discussion of all the existing remains on the site.

For the battle of the Allia see De Sanctis ; *Storia dei Romani*, II, pp. 167-170. Diodorus places the battle on the other side of the Tiber, but the accuracy of Livy is recognized even by Pais, *Storia Critica*, III, 38.

For the complicated questions as to the position of Eretum see Ashby, op. cit., as also for the remains at Cures.

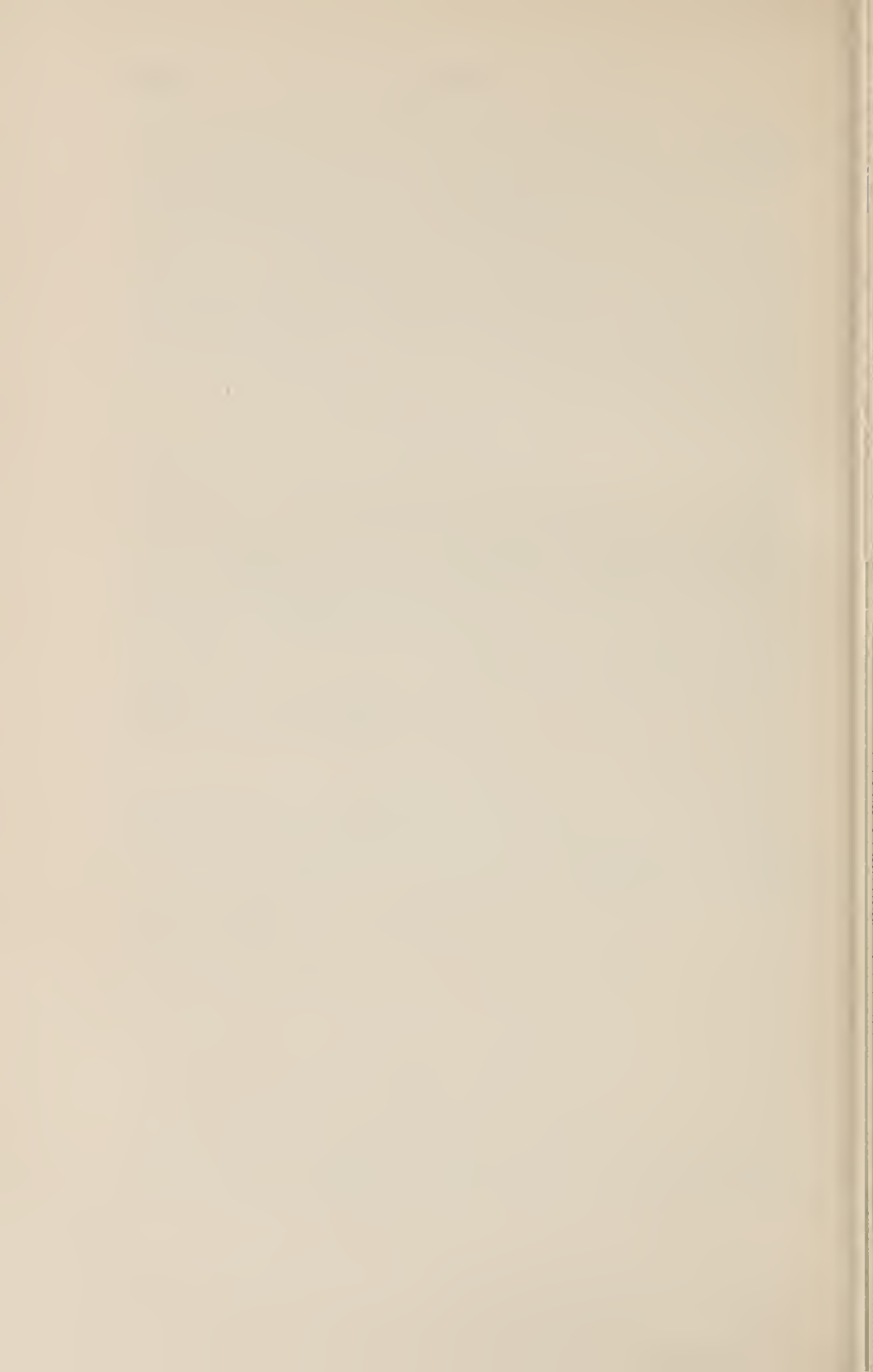
The remains at Grotte di Torri have been illustrated by Giovenale in *Dis. dell' Accad. Pontif. d'Archeol.*, Ser. ii, VII, pp. 351.

For the history of Farfa see Balzani's edition of the *Chronicon Farfense* (1903), and Giorgi and Balzani *Il Regesto di Farfa* (1914), and numerous other works. The existing buildings have been described by Schuster in *Archivio*, XXXIV.

The classical remains in the district of Poggio Mirteto are soon to be illustrated by Lugli and Ashby in a forthcoming volume of the *Forma Italiae*.

The remains at Forum Novum have been summarily described by Fiocco. See also Bernasconi, *Cenni storici sull' Antica Fornovo*, 1899. The mediaeval history of the district is treated by Tomassetti and Biasiotti, *La Diocesi di Sabina*, 1909.

For St. Maria in Vescovio see Stegenseck in *Byzant. Quartalschrift*, XVI. For the date of the frescoes and their attribution to Cavallini's master see Van Marle in *Bollettino d'Arte*, VII (Ser. II), pp. 3 et. seq.



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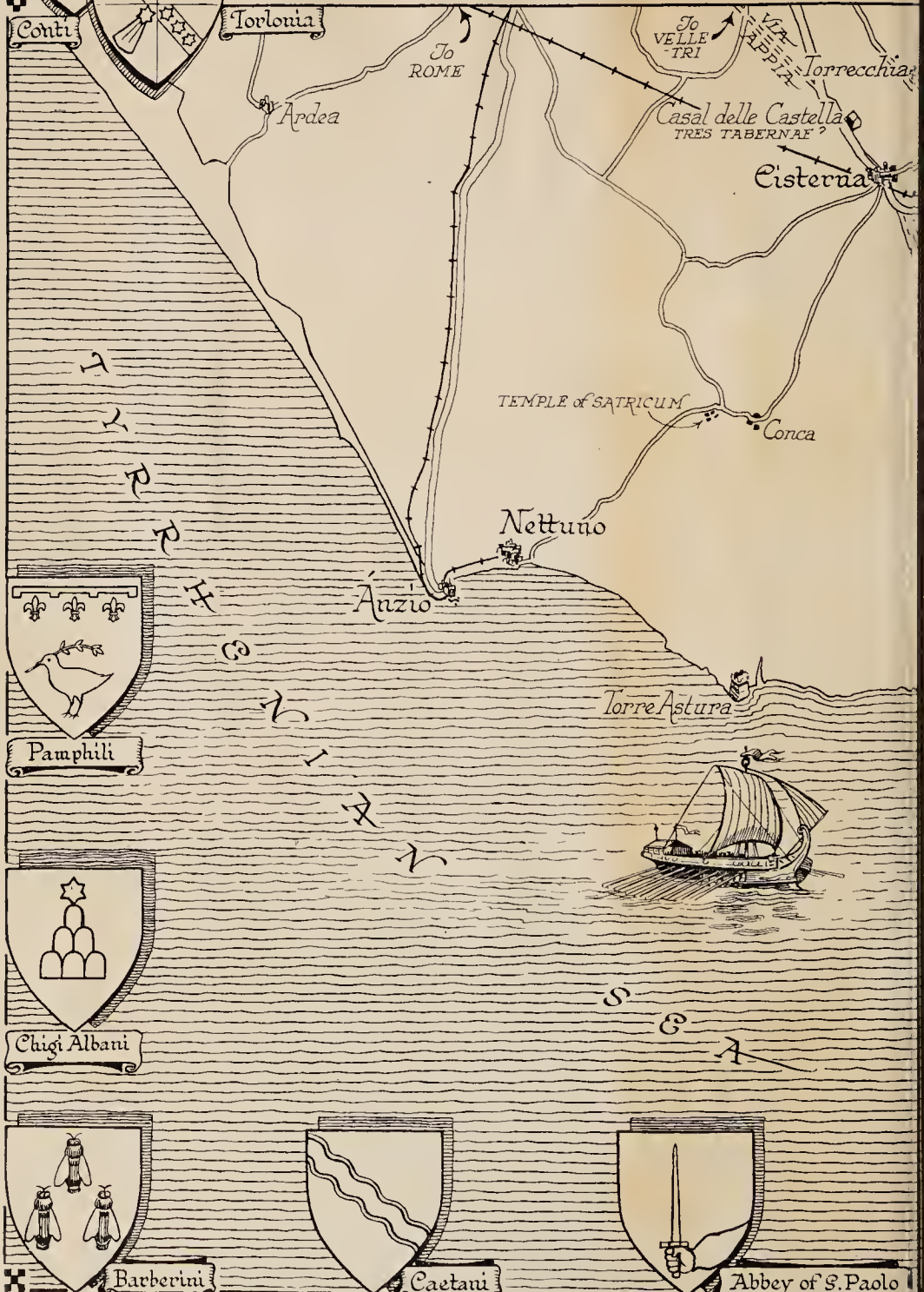
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